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# How the Communist Party of China Manages the Issue of Nationality

## An Evolving Topic

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# Chapter 1
# Introduction

## The World of Nationalities and the Issue of Nationality

*The further back we go into history, the more the characteristics distinguishing different peoples of the same race disappear.*

–Frederick Engels, *On Ireland*

*National question must be viewed historically and economically. National question is a worldwide phenomenon.*

–V. I. Lenin, "Theses for a Lecture on the National Question"

*Marxism-Leninism can help solve the problem of nationalities throughout the world. In China, Mao Zedong Thought – the integration of the theory of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution – can also help solve this problem.*

–Deng Xiaoping, "The Question of Minority Nationalities in the Southwest"

Human society is a world of nationalities. A nationality is a community. It differs from a class, stratum, political party or organization in that it is a stable social group, and it can be called a racial group. How to observe the differences and diversity of the wide world of nationalities in a scientific light and how to solve the jumble of issues concerning nationality is one of the most complex tasks of human society.

Since time immemorial, the forms of human communities have changed as social classes and states came into existence. In general, human communities have evolved through the forms of primitive hordes, clans, tribes, chiefdoms, ethnoses in ancient countries, and modern nation-states.

When the form of human communities broke the barriers of kindred relations and became grounded in territorial relations, humankind embarked down the path of private ownership, differentiation of society into classes, and state rule. However, this evolution did not take place in conjunction with the progress of human society. Because of various degrees of isolation due to geographical factors and differences between the economic and social lives of different communities, when human society entered the twentieth century historical remnants of all the more primitive forms still existed and were in flux. At one end of the spectrum, some nationalities were still in the hunter-gatherer stage, while at the other end some were exploring

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the mysteries space. In this world, hunter-gatherer, nomadic herder and agricultural societies coexisted with modern industrialized, urbanized and informatized societies.

In today's world, human communities and individuals, no matter what their stage of development, all belong to a state and to an ethnic group. These communities of ethnic groups at different historical stages of the development of human society are not considered to be superior or inferior because of their aspectual features, but there are significant differences in their economic and social development, language and culture, living habits, systems of belief (folk beliefs or religions), psychological identification and population size.

However, "there is a linguistic and cultural divide between them, they don't understand each other's rituals and habits, and their personal beliefs are incompatible, but they all have myths, rationality, stratagems and inventions, and they all have dance and music, as well as joy, love, tenderness, friendship, anger and hatred (of course these feelings are expressed or restrained to different degrees in different societies). They also have boundless imagination and a blend of reason and madness. The ingredients and proportions of all these factors vary considerably and they cannot readily be isolated."[1] Because they are all of the same human species on Earth, they together comprise the colorful wide world of nationalities. However in the twenty-first century today, ambiguities in concepts, theory and practice in this regard have not disappeared.

Science has already proven that all humans have a common origin. A common human origin means that all our ancestors originated from the same specific evolutionary branch on Earth, forest-dwelling primates living in the African tropical jungle and that the evolution from apes to humans took place in a specific geographical environment. Life on Earth arose only once, and human beings evolved from apes only once. Therefore, no matter how complex and diverse nationalities are in human society today, they all share a common ancestor, and they all belong to the natural world, the animal kingdom, the class of mammals, the order of primates, the family hominoids, the genus homo, and the species homo sapiens. This is the common biological foundation of the whole human species and the common starting point for understanding it. The concept of the human species in biology is a unified concept, whether in rejecting the notion of the supremacy of the white race or understanding the diversity of national culture.

The human species is unified, but nationalities are diverse and so are the cultures they create and pass on. From the evolutionary history of human society, it is not hard to see, "Genuine creativity does not lead to uniformity."[2] The cultural differences between nationalities are the result of how they understand nature in their habitat and how they use nature. For example, hunters and slash-and-burn farmers living in a mountain forest, fishermen living along rivers and the ocean, nomadic herders living on the desert grassland and settled farmers living on the vast plains are all different human communities living in different natural environments,

[1] Morin and Kern (1997), p. 50).

[2] Cf. Laszlo (1993).

and their ways of life are all creations of theirs to adapt to and use the bounties of nature so they can survive and multiply. Their differences show, "These difficulties have been different in different peoples of the earth, and in the manner of our overcoming them lies our destination."[3] Therefore, no matter how large or small a nationality is or the level of its development, its creation is human creation, and this diversity of creation manifests the strong points of each nationality toward human society as a whole and as well as the breadth and brilliance of the history of human civilization.

Since the beginning of human civilization, the development of human communities has followed the trend of decreasing dispersion and increasing concentration, and has gone from the diversity of clans to their unification as tribes, from the diversity of tribes to their unification as territorial confederations of tribes, from the diversity of territorial confederations of tribes to the unification of nationalities in ancient states, and from nationalities in ancient states to union of nationalities in modern countries. This evolution progressed alongside the evolution of private property, classes, states and capitalism, and states played an important role in it. States themselves evolved from city-states to empires to national monarchies to modern nation-states during this unification trend.

States are the product of irreconcilable class differences. State rulers and the class they represent, in order to safeguard their ruling position, demand that the ruled classes obey them and acknowledge the structure of social classes in the relations of dominance. Therefore, in order to maintain the system of governance, state power reshapes the state's "subjects" as a whole, which is the underlying meaning of the ethno-national process of human society. This is what occurred in ancient Greece in the formulation of city-states. Just as Max Weber said, "Greek phylai were at one time independent, and when they merged into a political commonwealth, city-states systematically carried out a reorganization of them" turning them into a "political artifact."[4] In fact, this is the case not only with ancient ethnoses but also with modern nations, with the difference between them being only that the former are still unstable, and are in flux in the course of the rise and fall of states.

These ethnic groups, which have different languages, territories, economic activities, cultural practices, and religious beliefs constantly disperse and congregate, and assimilate and merge due to wars, disaster, coercion and migration. Before 1500, this kind of phenomenon already occurred to some extent between separated continents and islands, most markedly between Europe and the Americas. After 1500, as worldwide navigation developed, large-scale migration between continents occurred as a result of colonial conquest and the slave trade, including the Columbian Exchange, a widespread exchange of animals, plants and communicable disease, and of human interbreeding, especially in the Americas, Africa and Australia. In the course of this process, Western capitalism unleashed worldwide colonial incursions, bringing disaster to many ancient societies.

[3] Tagore (1998), p. 13.

[4] Weber (1978), pp. 393–943.

In research on globalization, people generally identify the beginning of the global era as Columbus' discovery of "the new world" more than 500 years ago. If we restrict our consideration to the long period of history during which the continents were isolated from each other, this viewpoint is reasonable. However, this is a history of Western capitalist countries competing in colonial expansion abroad in the wake of great geographic discoveries. The Western countries that went out into the world and launched the global era did so by means of violent conquest, wild plundering and colonial slavery, and it was an atrocity of blood and fire that rested on the foundation of the destruction of other ancient civilizations. "The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of blackskins, signalised the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production. These idyllic proceedings are the chief momenta of primitive accumulation. On their heels treads the commercial war of the European nations, with the globe for a theatre."[5] In this "commercial war," once Western colonialists entered an isolated ancient society, "most of the knowledge that had been accumulated over millennia was lost, and those who destroyed it were incapable of grasping it," with the result that countless tragedies occurred in which outstanding indigenous cultures perished at the hands of inferior Western culture.[6] This kind of globalization was a unilateral invasion by Western powers and not cultural exchange. They relied on their superior ships and powerful cannon, and when they faced ancient societies or cultures they had no interest in interpreting or acknowledging the history that represents the unity of the human race, but were obsessed only with seizing gold and becoming rich.

The denial of the biological unity of the human race has been a common conception throughout human society from ancient times. "Ancient people viewed outsiders as gods or devils."[7] There are many examples of this in the histories of all nationalities and states and it is not rare even now. It can be said that looking at people different from oneself as belonging to a different breed has occurred in all societies, Chinese and foreign, and at all times, past and present, to varying degrees. After Columbus discovered the so-called new world, white Europeans looked on black Africans as black devils; East Asians looked on Westerners as furry barbarians or foreign devils, and it was common everywhere to describe people whose appearance differed from that of one's own group in bestial terms. If in primitive societies, people viewed others outside one's clan or tribe as strange, discriminated against them, and feared and demonized them to safeguard their own security, then in a class society, the imperatives of maintaining the interests of the ruling class required expanding the conception of inequality between people to races with different aspectual features, nationalities with different customs, and states with different levels of economic and social development.

[5] Marx (2007), p. 823.

[6] Morin and Kern (1997), pp. 2, 79.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

The so-called global era that Western colonialism initiated used violent conquest to promote global trade, migration, colonial rule and the transplanting of culture (including language and religion). However, this kind of globalization was a kind of unidirectional and coerced imposition of Western capitalism, whose foundation was white superiority centered on European culture. It was not a kind of globalization in which all the peoples of the world participated on equal terms because it was premised on the rejection of the unity of the human race. It excluded all civilizations and cultures that were not Western and was manifested in the enslavement of the majority so-called backward non-Western societies by the minority so-called advanced Western society. Even "biological proof of the unity of the human race is powerless to undermine the tendency to separate the human race into advanced superior nationalities and backward inferior nationalities."[8] Today, a common problem the vast number of developing countries face is to enjoy the dignity and rights that are everyone's due because they have not experienced the rights, autonomy and happiness promised in Western declarations of democracy, freedom and fraternity. On a global scale there are inequalities between nationalities and between countries, and so problems of nationalities in a broad sense, that is, problems of nationalities within a country (ethnic problems), as well as problems of nationalities between countries (national questions),[9] which are still major problems facing human society.

Contemporary human society is composed of two kinds of communities, a variety of nationalities within a country and a diversity of nations in the world, and the wide world of nationalities is comprised of nationalities in both these senses. From the perspective of formation of nation-states, basically all of the nearly 200 countries in the world can be considered nation-states, that is, they are modern countries that satisfy the basic criteria of independent sovereignty, territorial integrity and national integration, and use their national strength (including citizenship status, their own language or a language used throughout the country, education system and economic life, as well as such symbols as national flag, emblem and anthem and a national museum) to bring about national cohesion and identity. These countries strive to stand tall among the nations of the world. At the same time, nationalities in the original historical sense of the term number in the thousands. At present, there is no unified standard for individuating and counting them. Some experts use language as a standard and identify between 5,000 and 6,000 nationalities on that basis. Others calculate the composition of the people in each country and arrive at between 2,000 and 3,000. No matter whether you use the original historical sense of the term nationalities or a kinship conception of them, for various reasons particularly in the formation of modern nation-states, nationalities have been distributed among

[8] Morin and Kern (1997), p. 46.

[9] The so-called problems of nationalities within a country are problems between nationalities or ethnic groups in countries having multiple nationalities of immigrant ethnic groups. Problems of nationalities between countries are usually concealed by international relations. In fact, the relations between nation-states are also problems of nationalities between countries, for example relations between Chinese, Japanese, Russian, American and French nationals.

different countries due to political, economic and social factors as well as because of the way territorial boundaries have been drawn, and nationalities in different countries have developed and changed their characteristics and have come to differ from their mother nationalities or from branches they are cut off from in new ways.

In the course of differentiating nationalities, taking countries as the unit for counting populations reveals all kinds of national characteristics. For example, Arabian people, in the original sense of that term, are distributed among a number of different countries and count as different nationalities. The Native American tribes that were originally spread all over the Americas now all live in one country or another, but because they all retain their original languages and traditional tribal organization they are counted as different nationalities. Immigrant countries such as the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, in addition to the indigenous peoples there, people of different skin color, languages and religions have immigrated there and become detached from their mother nationalities and are called ethnic groups in Western countries.

The existence of thousands of nationalities in hundreds of countries in the world determines that most of the countries in the world today have many nationalities and ethnic groups. In countries with a unitary composition of the people, such as DPRK, South Korea, Japan, Mongolia, Portugal and Ireland, it is not the case that absolutely everyone belongs to that nationality. Invariably there are a small number of indigenous people, ethnic minorities or descendants of earlier immigrants. In addition, the tide of international migration driven by ever-deepening economic globalization is changing, sometimes dramatically, the composition of the people that once characterized these countries.

No matter whether we consider modern countries dominated by a single nationality or countries with a number of nationalities or immigrant ethnic groups, the basic nature of diversity is differences. These differences are manifested in language, culture, economic life and customs and are influenced by religious beliefs. The contacts, interaction, sense of strangeness, adaptation, discrimination, friction and conflict between nationalities or ethnic groups are the natural basis for the problem of nationalities. When class inequalities in a society lead to inequalities between nationalities and between countries, this constitutes the social factor underlying national questions. Therefore, nationality problems are one kind of social problem that are universal in human society. Solving nationality problems has always been and will always be a complex and long-term task of human society.

Throughout most of history, the thinking on and practice of solving nationality problems has focused on eliminating differences, and the means adopted have included conquest by war, coerced assimilation, expulsion, and even massacre and annihilation. During the age of Western colonialism, these kinds of measures or policies were the general rule and were carried out in the extreme. As for the colonial forces, which constituted only a small portion of humanity and relied on superior ships, powerful cannon, religion, culture and predatory desire, in addition to massacring indigenous populations like wild animals, they adopted a series of policies such as “divide and conquer,” “use natives to rule the natives” and “use the

carrot and the stick" to maintain colonial rule. They used existing differences in countries they conquered to divide them and prevent the people from uniting together to challenge the colonialists. They went so far as to create territorial segregation and enclaves and carve up the whole continent of Africa into countries whose boundaries reflected the scope of influence the various colonial countries had in the continent. The purpose of massacre and forced assimilation was to eliminate differences produced by the diversity of human civilization and achieve Western style unification. The purpose of dividing and conquering, using natives to rule natives, and sowing sow discords was to divide and weaken the forces opposing colonial invasion and enslavement, so that the people would sink into disputes over land, social position, and interests concerning economic and social life from which they couldn't extricate themselves, and then look to the colonialists in admiration as arbiters who could solve these disputes.

If we review world history since 1500, we will suddenly gain new insight into the tangle of ethnic, religious and territorial conflicts that plague the world today. Although apartheid was eliminated in South Africa in the 1990s, the genocidal war between the Hutu and Tutsi in Rwanda in the great lakes region of Africa has already stopped, the tragic anti-Chinese violence in Jakarta in 1998 has passed and ethnic Chinese in Indonesia are now contributing to making it a multi-cultural country, and the Tamil Tigers who had waged civil war in Sri Lanka for decades have been eliminated; nonetheless, the conflict between India and Pakistan over Kashmir, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, endless border and tribal disputes in Africa, and the split between north and south Sudan are still going on. Behind these conflicts, both settled and ongoing, that people know but may not understand well, there is "the hand of Western colonialism." Although the global colonial system built by modern Western capitalism has already collapsed, the racial conflicts, ethnic, religious and territorial conflicts that the age of colonial expansion and rule bequeathed the world and the numerous developing countries have become the world's tangled and complex "historical heritage." The modern "ferment" of this heritage has become an important historical source of the succession of the problem of nationalities plaguing the world since the end of the Cold War.

In the nineteenth century, the wide world of nationalities was completely divvied up by the Western colonial powers. The colonial countries of Western Europe and North America developed rapidly by relying on plundering of resources worldwide, the possession of low-cost labor and control of markets, and also nurture internal revolutions. The European revolutions of 1848, called the Spring of Nations, highlighted the upsurge of the nationalism movement and victory of the nation-state model. Marxist classical writers maintain, "Thus, if the Revolution of 1848 was not a socialist revolution, it paved the way, prepared the ground for the latter."[10] This foundation was the gravedigger of capitalism – the proletariat. In addition, "The Revolution of 1848 calling forth at once the claim of all oppressed nations to an independent existence, and to the right of settling their own affairs for themselves."[11]

[10] Engels and Marx (2009), p. 36.

[11] Engels and Marx (1919), p. 87.

Therefore, this revolution proved, "Without restoring autonomy and unity to each nation, it will be impossible to achieve the international union of the proletariat, or the peaceful and intelligent co-operation of these nations toward common aims."[12] In 1848, Marx and Engels published the *Communist Manifesto*, which not only announced to the world the birth of a new system of thought but also pointed out the orientation for solving problems of nationalities in human society.

Marxist classical writers maintain that in Europe "the tendency towards the formation of national states, which appeared with ever greater clarity and consciousness, provided one of the most fundamental of the levers by which progress was attained in the Middle Ages."[13] However, "National states are a necessary stage in the development of capitalism."[14] Therefore, for Europe and the entire world, the national state "is the typical, normal state for the capitalist period."[15] In addition, in Asia, which the Western powers carved up and colonized, wherever national movements arose, "the tendency of these movements [was] towards the creation of national states… it is such states that ensure the best conditions for the development of capitalism."[16] Hence, the proletarian revolution needed to grasp power in nation states.

In this regard, "The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word."[17] Concerning this, Lenin further elaborated, "The *Communist Manifesto* pointed out, 'The working men have no country.' This is correct, but not all. It also pointed out that the proletariat's role differs slightly during the period of national state formation. If one only grasps the first principle (the worker has no country), and forget its relation to the second principle (workers' organizations become a national class, but not in the sense the bourgeoisie understand), then this is a grave error."[18] Because the second principle had been overlooked, nations "could not grow strong, become mature and take shape."[19] The above viewpoint contains two levels of meaning. First, it holds that workers who hold state power constitute a national class. Second, the nation-state led by the proletariat is not the ideal of nationalism pursued by the capitalist class of "one nationality, one country" made up of people all from the same nationality and speaking the same language; it can be a nation-state of the proletariat of multiple nationalities.

[12] Marx and Engels (2005a), p. 84.
[13] Marx and Engels (1990), p. 560.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 563.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 573.
[16] Lenin (1967), p. 605.
[17] Marx and Engels (2005a), p. 32.
[18] Lenin (1967), p. 601.
[19] Lenin (1973), p. 40.

A panoramic view of the twentieth century reveals that the basic trend of the evolution of the structure of states in human society is the establishment of the modern nation-state. This kind of trend accompanies the collapse and disintegration of structure of imperialism, or in other words, it eliminates the model of imperialism. The conclusion of World War I at the beginning of the twentieth century resulted in the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the German Empire and the Tsarist Russian Empire, and the appearance in Central and Eastern Europe of a number of nation-states. Following the Chinese Revolution of 1911, the Atatürk's Reforms in Turkey, these developments formed a tide of Eastern nationalism that created the possibility in Asia for the creation of modern nation-states. The result of World War II was the beginning of a surge of national liberation in Asia, Africa and Latin America; the global colonial system established by Western countries crumbled, and the number of independent countries in the world increased by more than 100. In addition, the socialist movement came to the fore when the pattern of the world underwent tremendous changes twice, and took the path of establishing nation-states in which the proletariat seized and held onto state power. "An international movement of the proletariat is possible only as between independent nations."[20] The Soviet Union was the first socialist country ruled by a proletarian political party.

Lenin was a practitioner of scientific socialism, and the October Revolution he led took socialism from the realm of theory to the realm of practice. He took the view of Tsarist Russia as a "prison of nationalities" as his starting point, put forth the thinking that all nationalities have the right to self-determination and to independently establish a nation-state, based himself on the exercise of self-determination by the proletariat of all nationalities and the goal of creating a multi-nationality unified country, and finally established the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics comprised of a number of nation-states.

The creation of the Soviet Union was one of the events that rocked the world in the twentieth century. Another event that rocked the world was the demise of the Soviet Union in 1991. Today, 20 years later, there is still a wide range of interpretations of its demise, but there is no question that the Soviet Union failed to solve the problem of nationalities. Looking at the breakup of countries from the perspective of the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the associated drastic changes in Eastern Europe, we see that it was not much different from the changes that occurred after World Wars I and II. The Soviet Union was split into 15 countries, Yugoslavia was split into 7, and Czechoslovakia was split into 2; and the map of the world's countries underwent another major change. If we say that all these changes followed a rule, that is similar to what Marx said about the dissolution of ancient empires, "Nationalism led to the downfall of Rome and Greece"[21] Therefore, we must ask, Was the Soviet Union an empire? This is a question we must answer.

The Soviet Union was a federal country built on the ruins of Tsarist Russia. In theory, it was an alliance of sovereign countries similar to the present-day European

[20] Marx and Engels (1993), p. 191.

[21] "The Holy Family or Critique of Critical Criticism."

Union.[22] However, the Soviet Union wasn't built on the relatively developed foundation of a capitalist economy and society; there were great disparities in the level of economic and social development of the countries in the alliance; ethnic, religious and cultural factors were very complex; and the gulf created between nationalities during tsarist times was very deep. All this determined that it would be a long and difficult task for the Soviet Union to solve the problem of nationalities, made more difficult by the Western capitalist world's constant exploitation of ethnic and religious problems to sow dissension and carry out infiltration activities. Lenin and Stalin attached great importance to theoretical exposition of the problem of nationalities in the proletarian revolution and the age of socialism, thereby making an enormous contribution to enriching and developing Marxist ethnic theory. At the same time, they formulated a number of ethnic policies for the federal system, adopted a number of measures to help and support the economic and social development of the non-Russian republics, and made significant achievements in this area. It can be said that the Soviet Union used Marxist theory to open up a new phase in dealing with and solving the problem of nationalities.

However, during Stalin's term in office, Soviet leaders made radical and premature judgments concerning the course of the Soviet Union's socialist construction that were divorced from reality, produced the theory that the country had completed the establishment of a socialist society, even made subjective assumptions about the imminent creation of a communist society, further intensified the encroachment of highly centralized power on the structure of democratic power in the federal system, in practice simplified the problem of nationalities that were inherently long-term and complex, and used a variety of extreme measures such as brutal class struggle and banishment of ethnic populations to deal with the problem of nationalities. This kind of volitionally centralized power and political violence overwhelmed ethnic harmony, and it not only spread Russification throughout the Soviet Union forcing non-Russians to harbor their grievances in secret, but also led the Soviet Communist Party to make the blind judgment that it could once and for all solve the problem of nationalities that history had bequeathed to the Soviet Union, with the result that the party's ideological work and ethnic theory became pervaded with self-congratulation.

Nikolai Ryzhkov, who once dealt with a series of critical problems of nationalities in the Soviet Union, in reflecting on the lessons learned from solving the problem of nationalities stated, "Unresolved issues from the past and the repeatedly irrepressible desires to take premature action that disregards the objective situation both caused great harm to the cause. For example, we believed that our country's problem of nationalities had already been completely solved and on the basis of this assumption carried out research on the actual course of ethnic development and the relation between nationalities. As a result, serious conclusions were often replaced by simplistic slogans."[23] Making radical judgments that overstep the stage of social

[22] A constitution for the union, a common currency, free movement between the borders of member countries, and each member country has its own constitution, etc.

[23] Ryzhkov (2008), p. 36.

development and simplifying the longevity and complexity of the problem of nationalities is the basic shortcoming of the Soviet model for solving the problem of nationalities. This not only casts aside Marxist ethnic theory but also renders ethnic policy, including federal rights and interests, useless in practice. Therefore, the Soviet Union in coordinating its internal ethnic relations and in its international relations with other socialist countries returned to the hegemonic path of Tsarist Russia. The great Russian nationality was praised as the "leading nationality" or the "first nationality," and Russification became the standard for all non-Russian peoples. The Soviet model created by "Big Brother" became the model all other socialist countries followed.

Diplomacy is an extension of domestic policy. Although the Soviet Union's Big Brother diplomacy included an element of unselfish assistance, it also included the coercive export of the Soviet model, and even the export of military force. It insisted that all socialist countries slavishly follow the soviet model of hegemonist action. This not only created estrangement and division in the socialist camp, but also restricted other socialist countries from taking diverse paths of building socialism on the basis of their own actual conditions, including formulating their own theory and practice for solving the problem of nationalities. The result was that although these countries felt that they did not fully share in the benefits when Big Brother benefited, they did fully share the suffering when Big Brother suffered. Even though Yugoslavia took another path in spite of heavy Soviet pressure and took the radical step of workers autonomy to break the state apparatus in order to overcome the abuses of excessively centralized power, constantly revised the constitution to weaken the power of the federal government, and connived at the assertiveness of local nationalism, in the end it faced the same fate the Soviet Union did of ethnic schism and state dissolution.

The Soviet Union made premature judgments about the development course for socialist construction, and handled social problems, including the problem of nationalities, in a radical and simplistic manner, and it particularly connived at Great Russian Chauvinism and played the role of a superpower in its external dealings, and this made it a socialist imperial country in its hegemonist struggles with the United States and the West. This kind of practices deviate from Marxism-Leninism and abandon the principles of socialist democracy. They not only caused the people of all the Soviet Union's nationalities to lose their ideological foundation and spiritual home, but also made other "Sovietized" socialist countries unable to integrate Marxism-Leninism with their national conditions and lose the opportunity and conditions to carry out explorations to put scientific socialism into practice, with the result that they became greatly weakened and restricted their ability to cooperate with other socialist countries to autonomously and creatively cultivate the strengths of the socialist system and compete with the capitalist countries. At the same time, the rigidity and abuses in the standardization and uniformity forcibly imposed by the Soviet Union led to the deeply distorted identification of scientific socialism with the Soviet model. This is an important reason why none of the socialist countries engulfed in the demise of the Soviet Union and the drastic changes in Eastern Europe escaped the fate of taking the path of Westernization.

At root, the Soviet Union's failure to solve its problem of nationalities is an inevitable result of its inability to solve the general problem of how to build socialism. Stalin stated, "The national question must not be regarded as something self-contained and fixed for all time. Being only part of the general question of the transformation of the existing order, the national question is wholly determined by the conditions of the social environment, by the kind of power in the country and by the whole course of social development in general."[24] This is unquestionably a correct analysis. However, the Soviet Union did not scientifically and objectively maintain the view: "The concrete historical conditions as the starting point, and the dialectical presentation of the question as the only correct way of presenting it – such is the key to solving the national question."[25] Practice is the criterion for testing truth. Practice that ignores truth and wrong practice that departs from truth can also provide a criterion for testing truth. Under the halo of the cult of personality when Stalin's ethnic theory enjoyed absolute authority, whatever subjective assumptions and decisions he made concerning the problem of nationalities would violate his theory and sometimes even led him into self-contradiction. Because Stalin was in a position of absolute authority, whatever mistakes he made, it is impossible for party members, intellectuals or theoreticians to disagree with him. This led to Khrushchev completely repudiate him, to the extent that he denounced the correct thinking of Marxism-Leninism that Stalin inherited and enriched as Stalinism and rejected it because of Stalin's deeds. As Mao Zedong once said, "In the Soviet Union, those who once extolled Stalin to the skies have now in one swoop consigned him to purgatory."[26]

Sadly, several generations of Soviet leaders after Stalin not only continued the rejection of their predecessors but also maintained the imperialistic attitude and hegemonic behavior of dealing with the problem of nationalities within the Soviet Union through Russification, and of handling international relations with sister socialist countries (including nationality problems between countries) by forcing them to follow the Soviet model. As a result, Gorbachev's Perestroika reforms completely and thoroughly renounced the Soviet Union, Marxism-Leninism and socialism, and when the non-Russian republics voiced their dissatisfaction, the contraction and increased cohesiveness of Great Russian Chauvinism became a declaration of sovereignty on the eve of the demise of the Soviet Union that hastened the split between the nationalities in the Soviet Union and the breakup of the country.

In 1978 the French Sovietologist Helene Carrere d'Encausse was the first to state that, "The Soviet Union, like Tsarist Russia before it, is unable to escape from the blind alley of the problem of nationalities."[27] Subsequently, Western scholars and political figures took the problem of nationalities of the Soviet Union, particularly the dissatisfaction of non-Russian nationalities, as a focus of stratagems for defeating the Soviet Union without recourse to war, and the American scholar Robert

[24] Stalin (1953a), p. 158.

[25] Stalin (1953b), p. 331.

[26] Mao Zedong (1999), p. 43.

[27] Helene Carrere d'Encausse (1982), p. 271.

Conquest stated, "Should there be a vacuum of authority, as there was in 1917, the USSR would disintegrate as rapidly as did the old empire of the tsars."[28] Of course, those who made these predictions were not content to just sit on the sidelines and watch events unfold, but actively participated in "activities to split the Soviet Union into mutually antagonistic groups."[29] However, the Soviet Union was not a large country completely lacking in cohesion, and if it hadn't been for existence of Westernization forces within the Soviet Union, the Western forces would not have been able to achieve their objective. On March 17, 1991, a nationwide vote was held on whether to keep the Soviet Union intact. Except for the three Baltic states, Georgia and Azerbaijan, which did not participate in the vote, 76.4 % of 148 million people in the other nine republics voted to keep the Soviet Union intact. What was most surprising was that more than 90 % of the voters in the five Central Asia republics voted yes, and the highest percentage of no votes were in the Ukraine (28 %) and Russia (26.4 %).[30] This result was totally unexpected by Western scholars who studied the problem of nationalities in the Soviet Union. "Why did so many distinguished scholars write about the problem of nationalities that could not be solved, yet overlook the main problems?"[31] After the demise of the Soviet Union, Western scholars continued to study the relation between its demise and its problem of nationalities, and they came up with another interpretation, "While the nationalist movements that arose in many of the republics were genuine expressions of popular feelings, had it not been for the determination of the pro-capitalist coalition to abolish the socialist system and open a path to capitalism, it is doubtful that the nationalist movements would have destroyed the Union."[32] This probably falls within the scope of the "main problem" and is an internal cause for its demise.

Whether one views the Soviet Union as a reincarnation of Tsarist Russia or a socialist country, the Cold War was a battle of two empires struggling for supremacy, and the two hegemonic states going "the way of ancient Athens and other once-mighty, now-fallen European empires of the century past."[33] In this kind of battle for supremacy, the demise of the Soviet Union and the countries under its control was not the result of competition between capitalism and socialism, but the result of the failure to answer the basic questions what socialism is and how to build socialism both in their general form and in their specific application to the Soviet Union, which rendered it incapable of standing toe to toe to the United States and its Western allies. Therefore, Marxism and socialism did not lose their scientific nature and vitality because of the demise of the Soviet Union. Its demise and the drastic changes in Eastern Europe brought jubilation to the Western capitalist world, particularly the United States. Many scholars and political figures declared "nationalism has defeated socialism," "socialism has been crushed," "the end of history," "all

[28] Conquest (1986).

[29] Cf. Zinoviev (2004), p. 98.

[30] Tishkov (2009), p. 96.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 56.

[32] Kotz and Weir (1997), p. 142.

[33] Fulbright (1989).

multi-nationality socialist countries will follow in the footsteps of the Soviet Union," and many similar pronouncements. However, in the 20 years since the demise of the Soviet Union, the tide of nationalism has not continued to exert a domino effect in multi-nationality socialist countries, whereas the capitalist world – developed capitalist countries and the many developing countries that have a capitalist system – faces the challenges of racial clashes, ethnic conflicts, religious disputes and ethnic separatism. Facts prove that no country on Earth can declare that it has successfully solved its problem of nationalities.

In countries around the world, many of which are multi-nationality countries, the issues of integration, identity and rights of minorities (racial, ethnic, religious, linguistic and other minorities) are still widespread problems. Unity and diversity, as well as similarities and differences, are still the most important concerns in the politics and culture of every country. Though the multinational federal states of the former Soviet Union disintegrated 20 years ago, the number of states in a federal system and states that are federalizing has increased by 13 since the 1990s. Both Belgium, which implemented a federal system with a hereditary constitutional monarchy due to language disputes over Flemish and Walloon, and Nepal, which abolished its monarchy in 2008 and became a federal republic based on its national conditions of national, religious and linguistic diversity, turned to federalism in order to solve the domestic problem of nationalities. Globally, there are many systems and models for solving the problem of nationalities, such as a federal system, regional national autonomy, national autonomy, reservations, etc. There are different practices and characteristics in different countries for selecting or designing an "autonomy model." Despite the fact that, "Tolerance of diversity is one of the strengths of federalism,"[34] it is not a universal panacea. The federalization of Belgium did not eliminate the risk of disunification or political fissures between Flanders, Wallonia and Brussels, and national political disputes led to a new world record for the length of time it took to form a government since the general election began in 2010.

In Western developed countries, whether implementing a federal system or another model, there are always unavoidable problems of nationalities, including extreme issues such as the Quebec independence movement in Canada. In 1995, the Quebec referendum almost divided Canada, and Quebec has already become a "state within a state" with a high degree of autonomy. This type of phenomenon is not unusual in Western developed capitalist countries. Although a peace agreement has been reached on the issue of Northern Ireland in the United Kingdom, the Scottish Nationalist Party is taking advantage of its majority in local councils to hold a referendum on independence within the next 5 years. The Corsican independence movement and the Brittany question in France are yet to be resolved, and the country also faces the problem of having 6 million immigrants. There have been protracted independence movements in the Basque Autonomous Region and the Autonomous Region of Catalonia in Spain, and the terrorist organization ETA, which is part of the Basque national independence movement, is still a threat to

[34] Anderson (2007).

Spanish national unity and social stability. Even the most developed country, the United States, is troubled with issues related to African-Americans created by racial politics, First Nation issues as a result of the colonial period, the independence movement in the former colony (now "unincorporated territory" of the United States) Puerto Rico, issues in the overseas dependent territory of Guam, the independence movement by native Hawaiians, as well as issues arising from being an ethnic melting pot: "At the dawn of the twenty-first century the relations between blacks and whites remain the most obdurate and vexing issue in American society.… Most Americans today acknowledge the seriousness of division and conflict between people of various racial and ethnic groups in the United States and the strains they create in the social fabric. Indeed, many would readily assert that problems stemming from race and ethnicity are the most severe, persistent, and irresolvable facing the society."[35]

Similar problems exist in developing countries, such as those that were reorganized and restructured as a result of the demise of the Soviet Union and the drastic changes in Eastern Europe, also face many kinds of nationality problems, including national separatist movements. In February 1991, as the Soviet Union was dissolved, a number of national independence movements, including those of the Baltic States, established an international organization in The Hague called the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO). The organization now has over 60 members from Asia, the Americas, Africa and Oceania, including the indigenous peoples of Australia and the United States, Chechens in Russia, and even a number of groups that directly relate to China's territorial integrity and national unity, such as the Taiwan independence organization, the exiled political forces of the Dalai Lama clique, "East Turkistan" forces, and the "Southern Mongolia Movement." This organization and its members, such as ex-Soviet Union countries Latvia, Estonia, Armenia and Georgia, have been encouraged to carry out national separatist activities by the successes of former members and now independent nations Palau and East Timor, as well as Kosovo, which declared independence in 2008 with the support of Western forces. Of course, apart from these extreme organizations, the problem of nationalities is more broadly and commonly manifested in the area of human rights, such as economic and social development, protection of cultural heritage and freedom of religious belief.

In this area, the international community, primarily the United Nations, has formulated various international laws to safeguard racial equality and national equality, and adopted a series of international laws and declarations on opposing racial discrimination, guaranteeing the rights and interests of nations, safeguarding the interests of indigenous peoples and protecting cultural diversity. This has had a positive impact on United Nations members and signatories to the relevant laws respecting international standards, fulfilling international obligations and safeguarding the international order. At the same time, almost every country's constitution now contains references to opposing racial discrimination and promoting national equality. Nevertheless, advanced thinking and international consensuses

[35] Marger (2011), pp. 4–6.

are not just a process, they also need to progress from the realities of each country's system, guiding ideology and economic and social development.

In today's world, except international relations, the problem of nationalities is the internal affair of a country, and the design of a system and formulation of policies for solving the problem of nationalities is the internal affair of each multi-nationality country. Since the twentieth century, as nation-states have become the dominant type of state around the world, policies on nationalities have become an integral part of the internal affairs of multi-nationality countries. In addition to implementing an institutional framework such as a federal system, regional national autonomy or national autonomy, the inherent concepts and objectives of policies on nationality are generally "integration," creating a "melting pot" and achieving multiculturalism. So-called "integration" usually involves policies that do not recognize the rights of minority nationalities but emphasize treating citizens the same. This is also known as non-discrimination, which aims to cover up inequalities that actually exist between different nationalities, particularly minority nationalities. The so-called "melting pot" policy is represented by the model of the United States whereby citizens have the same status, and the naturalization of language, culture and behavior are achieved through assimilation (forced or otherwise). The so-called policy of multiculturalism recognizes diversity, and is usually adopted by Western countries after assimilation fails. It originated in countries with large immigrant populations such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the United States, and has been adopted by more and more Western developed countries and many developing countries.

But Western countries that have tried to put the policy concept of multiculturalism into practice have not achieved stable results, and are even thought to have produced a secessionist effect that has given rise to social divisions. The experience of the United States is quite typical in this regard. The civil right movement in 1960 signaled the failure of the "melting pot" policy, which was followed by the "salad bowl" and "mosaic" policy theories. In reality, these were just hesitations between "improvement" and "reform" before continuing toward the policy of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism in the United States took the form of ethnic recognition and affirmative action, which led to the creation of more than 160 bills and policies to help African-Americans, minority nationalities (immigrants of all races), indigenous people, women and other groups with a competitive disadvantage to find employment, enter education, gain access to loans, etc. In the US, which has a high urbanization rate (82 %), competition for resources such as employment and education is fierce, and it has led to lawsuits by White Americans over "reverse discrimination" aimed at helping African-Americans, immigrants and other vulnerable groups. They have also challenged the fairness of "affirmative action." Wave after wave of immigration to the United States has changed the appearance of the US population, which has led to resurgence in "white supremacy," to the point that alarmist claims abounded that "Blacks, Hispanics, and Orientals would put the white population of all other central cities into a minority within years."[36] The famous US scholar, Zbigniew Brzezinski, who predicted the collapse of the Soviet

[36] White (1982), p. 350.

Union due to the problem of nationalities, believed that, in view of the rapid influx of non-white immigrants such as Hispanics, "The transformation of America from a society dominated – and shaped – by a White Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture into a global mosaic inevitably will involve a profound shift in values and perhaps some further loss of social cohesion." He believed that potentially divisive multiculturalism could "balkanize multiethnic America" and that if this continued, "The American society could then face the threat of disintegration."[37]

At one time, the United States and other Western countries rejoiced at the breakup of the former Soviet Union and other multi-nationality socialist federal states. But the post-Cold War tide of nationalism that started in the eastern parts of the former Soviet Union and swept through and gave rise to ethnic conflicts in the Western world rendered theories such as the "theory of the fall of communism" and "End of History" worthless. In order to explain this phenomenon, Samuel Huntington proposed his theory on the Clash of Civilizations[38] in the hope of revealing the ultimate laws governing conflict on the basis of eliminating differences in ideology and social systems, and thereby establishing the logic that "Relations between groups from different civilizations…will be almost never close." This theory attempts to show that clashes between civilizations (particularly the Eastern Confucian, Islamic and Western Christian civilizations) are inevitable and to defend the central position and uniqueness of Western civilization, led by the United States. In essence, it is a rejection of diversity of civilizations. "It created an image of an enemy and produced a stimulus for action to legitimize military and economic institutions by using a broad view of structural threats and general discord to activate the resources of political action."[39] After the Cold War, the United States' "transformation of the Islamic world" and "return to the Asia-Pacific region," including its reliance on military force to establish global hegemony and its attempts to change the world using its model for democracy and values, were both undertaken to curb world multipolarization. People are already clear on this.

In 2004, Samuel Huntington released the Clash of Cultures[40] in the US, which was a condensed version of the Clash of Civilizations. It advocated a return to the origins of the United States' Anglo-Saxon core culture and recasting the "American values" of white supremacy by assimilating them with the idea of a "melting pot."[41] Huntington elegizes racial politics and, on a practical level, rejects multicultural policies. Coincidentally, during the process of globalization, international migration has become a huge-scale and rising development trend. This led typical Western nation-states, such as Germany, France and the UK, to advocate multicultural policies, with the aim of integrating immigrants into mainstream society as quickly as possible. However, in 2010, German Chancellor Angela Merkel declared that multicultural policies had not helped immigrants from Turkey and other Muslim

[37] Brzezinski (1933), p. 114.

[38] Huntington (1996).

[39] Jorn Rusen (German) (2005), p. 125.

[40] Huntington (2005).

[41] Cf. Hao Shiyuan (2005).

countries to assimilate into mainstream society. That same year, France took measures to expel Roma immigrants, and British Prime Minister David Cameron announced in 2011 that multicultural policies had failed in the UK. Of course, the exaggerations and extreme actions of these politicians have not helped these developed countries to solve their increasingly prominent immigration problems, and the actions of rising xenophobic right-wing political forces and neo-fascist organizations, such as "Skinheads," are making immigration a persistent challenge to plans for "nation-state building."

Facts prove that assimilation policies in the United States and other Western countries have failed and that their policies of multiculturalism have suffered a setback due to their lack of success at solving the problem of nationalities for human society or at integrating the country's national ethnic identities. As such, the theory and practice of solving the problem of nationalities are in the dynamic exploration stage in both Western developed countries and developing countries. Of these, China is a unified multi-nationality socialist country and one of the world's most populous countries, and it is adhering to and constantly improving through praxis a path suited to its national conditions for solving its problem of nationalities in the course of the modernization process of building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Marxism is a set of thoughts that scientifically reveals the law governing the development of human society. Although Marxism originated in the West, it has spread around the world due to its scientific quality and relevance to all mankind. Marxism distinguishes between people based not on race or nationality, but on class. Marxism revealed that the cause of inequality in human societies is private ownership, and racial discrimination and national oppression are social extensions of class oppression among humans. Therefore, "In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end."[42] This is Marxist classical writers' scientific explanation of the class attributes of the problem of nationalities in the capitalist era and the social conditions for resolving such issues. The only way to achieve these two inevitabilities is through a proletarian revolution and dictatorship, the abolition of private property, and establishing socialism and achieving communism. This is a scientific prophecy about the whole of human society and a scientific judgment that takes as its premise victory in the world proletarian revolution. It epitomizes the basic objective of "eradicating private ownership." Marxism brought with it the great hope for human society at the end of the nineteenth and start of the twentieth century that the world's proletariat and oppressed nations would unite and that the people's minds would be emancipated, and "socialism possessed that hope and injected life into it."[43] The cause of socialism demonstrated its brilliant achievements during the twentieth century, though the socialist cause suffered a major setback with the failure of socialism in

[42] Marx and Engels (2005a), p. 32.

[43] Morin and Kern (1997), p. 8.

the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Nevertheless, thanks to the great achievements made in reform and opening up, the cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics has injected life into socialism in the twenty-first century.

For a time, public opinion on the "fall of communism" spread like wildfire in the Western capitalist world. At the same time, all sorts of theories that reinterpreted the world emerged from the West, such as "The End of History" and "The Clash of Civilizations," which attempted to replace the Marxist scientific interpretation of the objective laws governing the development of human society and its influence. However, as some Western scholars calmly explained, "No political ideology has proposed complex thoughts and ambitious goals since Marxism went into a low ebb." At the same time, in consideration of the practices of the former Soviet Union and other socialist movements, they recognized that, "If people emphasize that socialism's goal is to eliminate man's exploitation by man, this goal should be re-established and should not remain an empty promise."[44] This is precisely the primary focus of the cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics and modernization: to scientifically explain in the course of the developing praxis of reform and opening up the major questions of what Marxism is and how to use Marxism, what socialism is and how to develop socialism, what sort of party we should build and how we should build it, and what sort of development we should achieve and how we should develop. These questions need to be answered in order to achieve common development and prosperity for all China's nationalities and the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation so that it can stand tall among the nations of the world. Therefore, the praxis of socialism with Chinese characteristics led by the CPC aims to re-establish the superiority of the socialist system and prevent it from becoming just an "empty promise."

China is a unified multi-nationality socialist country under the leadership of the CPC, and nationalities affairs are important work related to the Party and the country as a whole. Institutional arrangements for solving the problem of nationalities in China consist of the implementation of autonomy in areas with concentrations of minority nationalities. The system of regional national autonomy is a basic political system in China that is protected by the Law of the People's Republic of China on Regional National Autonomy. The system of regional national autonomy has been developing for more than 60 years, since the establishment of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region in 1947, and remarkable achievements have been made in terms of safeguarding national unity, territorial integrity, national unity and social stability, as well as protecting the equal rights of minority nationalities and promoting the common prosperity and development of nationalities in autonomous areas. This is an obvious fact. However, the problem of nationalities involves long-term work and constitutes an overarching social issue, and it can only be solved gradually in the process of solving overarching social issues. The problem of nationalities is also complex, and nationalities, as communities, are an integral part of the social structure. The problem of nationalities and social issues are intertwined to different extents, and they can only be resolved gradually in the process of the praxis of

[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 96, 111.

"human development." At the same time, as China develops the cause of reform and opening up and continues to integrate with the international community, international influences on the problem of nationalities will constantly increase. These influences include China adapting to relevant legal responsibilities and obligations of the international community and also the influence of various global thoughts and phenomena, especially the "historical heritage" of the problem of nationalities created and left by modern imperialism, and the influence of the United States and other Western countries using these issues to "Westernize" and "divide" China. As such, nationalities affairs and solving the problem of nationalities will have a bearing on the success or failure of the cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and their importance is self-evident. Therefore, based on China's national conditions, we must grasp the universal, long-term, complex, international and important nature of the problem of nationalities.[45]

The CPC is a proletarian party guided by Marxism-Leninism, and the basic theories of Marxist classical writers on nationalities, the problem of nationalities and solving the problem of nationalities are the ideological source for solving the problem of nationalities. Practice has proven that, in the worldwide socialist movement, dogmatism, understanding or the application of Marxism divorced from national conditions, neglecting Marxism, or departing from and abandoning Marxism in the course of praxis will inevitably lead to setbacks and failure in the cause of socialist construction. The former Soviet Union has already provided a profound and painful lesson on this. However, "In the social sciences and in Marxism-Leninism, we must continue to study Stalin diligently wherever he is right. What we must study is all that is universally true and we must make sure that this study is linked with Chinese reality."[46] Therefore, only by continuing to integrate Marxism with our national conditions, developing with the times and sharing the same destiny as the people will we be able to make great achievements in the cause of socialist construction and make Marxism glow with vitality, creativity and inspiration. The praxis of socialism with Chinese characteristics and the theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics represent this, and the Marxist theory of nationalities is an integral part of the theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics for enriching and developing China. Theoretical achievements in this area embody the continuation of practices inherited from our predecessors and advancing with the times in Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, the important thought of Three Represents and the Scientific Outlook on Development.

Socialism is a basic system with innate characteristics, but there is no fixed model for building socialism, and the unity of the goal of communism does not exclude there being diverse paths to achieving this goal, as the path of socialist construction must be suited to the national conditions of each country. China is a country made up of 56 nationalities. The Han nationality, accounts for more than 1.2 billion of China's population, and the other 55 nationalities, which are collectively referred to as minority nationalities due to their populations ranging from tens of

[45] Cf. Hao Shiyuan (1996, 2000, 2001).

[46] Mao Zedong (1999), p. 43.

millions to a few thousand, are distributed throughout the country, but mainly in border areas. China's national autonomous areas account for 64 % of its land area, and these vast areas are largely situated in western regions, which are lagging behind in terms of economic and social development. This basic national condition has meant that the problem of nationalities has always been a major issue that needs to be dealt with properly in order to develop socialism with Chinese characteristics. It also means that solving the problem of nationalities is a long-term, complex and very difficult process. Since China's reform and opening up began, the problem of nationalities, as an overarching social issue, has been "increasing" and "getting stronger," like other social issues. The former is the phenomenon inevitably produced by economic and social development and increasingly close exchanges between nationalities, and the latter is the result of the historical legacy of the problem of nationalities left by imperialism that has been "fermented" with the support of some Western powers. This is what triggered the violent incidents in Lhasa on March 14, 2008, and in Urumqi on July 5, 2009, and led to comments at home and abroad about China's need to solve its the problem of nationalities, including various comments that China's system of national autonomous regions was a "Soviet model," "political window-dressing" and "a system of segregation," as well as the need to "abolish the autonomous areas," "abolish nationalities" and "learn from the United States," so that advocating "national integration" became the focus. However, these comments did not conform to the realities of solving the problem of nationalities in China.

Observations on China's problem of nationalities and determining the path for China to solve it must take into account China's historical and current national conditions, and must also be based on an understanding of the basic characteristics of China's problem of nationalities. Marxist classical writers thought, "A nation, like every historical phenomenon, is subject to the law of change, has its history, its beginning and end."[47] However, "abolition of nations… This is splendid, of course, and eventually it will come about, but at an entirely different stage of communist development."[48] Only under the communist system, "The nationalities of the peoples associating themselves in accordance with the principle of community will be compelled to mingle with each other as a result of this association and thereby to dissolve themselves, just as the various estate and class distinctions must disappear through the abolition of their basis, private property."[49] This will be a long process. "As long as national and state distinctions exist among peoples and countries – and these will continue to exist for a very long time to come, even after the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established on a world-wide scale – the unity of the international tactics of the communist working-class movement in all countries demands, not the elimination of variety of the suppression of national distinctions (which is a pipe dream at present), but an application of the *fundamental* principles of communism (Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat), which will *correctly*

[47] Stalin (1953b), p. 307.

[48] Lenin (1965), p. 193.

[49] Marx and Engels (2005b), p. 145.

*modify* these principles in certain *particulars*, correctly adapt and apply them to national and national-state distinctions."[50] The process of solving the problem of nationalities in China is part of the primary stage of socialism, and any premature aspirations or radical acts that are divorced from the realities of the national conditions will only impede the healthy progress of solving the problem of nationalities. In this regard, there are many lessons to be drawn from the failure of predecessors at home and abroad. When looking to solve the problem of nationalities, China should not reject absorbing and drawing on advanced international experiences. This, after all, is the point of China's reform and opening up: to absorb the fruits of outstanding civilizations. But China must also encourage increasingly close contact and exchanges between nationalities in the praxis of social and economic development, while adhering to and improving the system of regional national autonomy, in order to achieve coexistence, mutual respect, tolerance, equal treatment, common prosperity and common development, and so that they absorb and learn from each other. This is the path that must be taken in order to cast all China's nationalities into a Chinese nation. It is also the target that must be achieved in order to solve China's problem of nationalities.

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[50] Lenin (1999), p. 89.

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# Chapter 2
# Taking into Perspective the Historical Conditions in China and Building a United Multi-nationality Country

*China is one of the largest countries in the world, and its territory is about the size of the whole of Europe. In this vast country of ours there are large areas of fertile land that provide us with food and clothing, mountain ranges across its length and breadth with extensive forests and rich mineral deposits, many rivers and lakes that provide us with water transport and irrigation, and a long coastline that facilitates communication with nations beyond the seas. From ancient times our forefathers have labored, lived and multiplied on this vast territory.*

*China has a population of 450 million, almost a quarter of the world's total. Over nine-tenths of its inhabitants belong to the Han nationality. There are also scores of minority nationalities, including the Mongol, Hui, Tibetan, Uygur, Miao, Yi, Zhuang, Zhongjia and Korean, all with long histories though at different levels of cultural development. Thus China is a country with a very large population composed of many nationalities.*

–Mao Zedong, "The Chinese Revolution and the Communist Party of China"

*The minority nationalities have all contributed to the making of China's history. The huge Han population is the result of the intermingling of many nationalities over a long time.*

–Mao Zedong, "On the Ten Major Relationships"

*The Chinese nation includes dozens of nationalities such as the Han, Manchu, Mongolian, Hui, Tibetan, Miao, Yao, Fan, Li, and Yi, and it is the most hardworking and peace-loving nation in the world. China is a multi-nationality country, and the Chinese nation includes all nationalities within Chinese territory.*

*–Reader for Anti-Japanese Soldiers*

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## 2.1 The People of the Five Directions Create a Multi-nationality Country

### *2.1.1 Chinese Civilization Is Rooted in Multiple Sources and Many Currents*

China is an ancient Eastern civilization with a long history, and the only country on earth whose civilization has extended uninterrupted from ancient times to the present. In its more than 5,000 years of development, China experienced many territorial changes and dynastic successions during which it experienced countless internal and external trials and tribulations and political disintegration, but the general trend of the unity of China was never blocked, and in the end China became a united multi-nationality country. In this historical process, all the nationalities that lived and multiplied on Chinese land created a pattern of cultural diversity within national unity through their interaction and integration. The formation of this pattern is due not only to the geographical fact that China covers a broad territory on the Asian continent but also to the historical fact that it has large numbers of ancient human remains and culturally diverse historical sources.

China is one of the countries with the greatest number of historical artifacts, and more than a hundred human fossils have already been found on Chinese soil. China's Paleolithic cultural sites number in the thousands, with the majority of them concentrated on the middle and lower reaches of the Yangtze River and along the Huai River, and most of the rest along the Pearl and Mian rivers, in the North and Southwest, and on the Qinghai-Tibetan Plateau. Cultural sites from the late Paleolithic Era are distributed widely throughout China, which shows that since the Paleolithic Era, civilization developed uninterruptedly in both North and South China. In addition, some evidence has been found that these cultures were in communication with cultures beyond our borders.

China entered the Neolithic Era probably around 10,000 BC. Tens of thousands of Neolithic sites have already been discovered all over China, from which we see that over China's vast territory, different Neolithic cultures were vastly different from each other due to geographical and climatic differences. The other great civilizations of the world were born along rivers, and similarly, the Yangtze and Yellow rivers gave birth and nurtured Chinese civilization. As early as 7,000 or 8,000 years ago, our Chinese ancestors had already developed primitive agriculture and formed themselves into tribes along the Yellow River at sites such as Peiligang and Banbo. Remains from the Neolithic Era are not only widely distributed in the Yellow River basin but also in the Yangtze River basin, where the remains of the Daxi, Qujialing and Hemudu cultures have been discovered. The wide distribution of primitive cultures gradually led to the development of a large variety of cultures that enhanced each other's radiance.

This kind of cultural sites can be found throughout China from east to west and from north to south, close to mountains and alongside rivers, and in the central plains and along the border. They can be divided into a dry land farming economic

region along the Yellow, Liao and Hai rivers; a paddy field farming economic region along the middle and lower reaches of the Yangtze River; and hunter-gatherer economic zones in the Northeast, Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang and the Qinghai-Tibetan Plateau. This shows that since ancient times, Chinese civilization has been characterized by cultural diversity, and that the creators of these diverse cultures were the historical basis of the many sources and currents whose interactions spurred the development of China's history. After China entered the age of writing, this historical pattern and its thread of development became a historical impetus propelling peoples of the five directions and their descendants to constantly and tirelessly interact and integrate.

### *2.1.2 "Categorize the Clans and Make Distinctions among Things", and "the People of the Five Directions"*

If we look at the distribution of Neolithic cultures in China and the way they interacted and influenced each other, we can distinguish them into which early human groups they belonged to. The Yangshao Culture and the Longshan Culture it gave rise to gradually became the Xia or Huaxia racial group. The Dawenkou Culture and the Shandong Longshan Culture it gave rise to basically gradually became the eastern Yi racial group. The Hemudu, Majiabang, Liangzhu, Daxi and Qujialing cultures together with other southern Neolithic cultures basically gradually became the southern Man racial group. The Xinle Lower Culture, Fuhe Culture, Hongshan Culture and other northern Neolithic cultures basically gradually became the northern Di racial group. The Majiayao Culture and other Neolithic cultures in the northwest basically gradually became western Rong racial group. Their formation occurred during the time that is called the period of the Three Emperors and Five Sovereigns. By the time of the Xia Dynasty, the primitive clan groups had been transformed into the peoples of the five directions: eastern Yi, northern Di, western Rong, southern Man and central Huaxia. The Huaxia in the middle was called Zhongguo and the other four were called the four Yi.[1] In the hemispheric dome cosmology used at that time, Huaxia was placed in the center, and so was called the central country (Zhongguo). This system of nationalities differentiated by their geographic location was the product of the traditional method of organizing the clans and making distinctions between things that was used in ancient China.

In 1903, the famous French social anthropologist Émile Durkheim and Marcel Mauss published *Primitive Classification*, which was hailed by the social science yearbook school as the most enlightening and important publication of the year. In it, the authors state, "So-called classification refers to people dividing things, events and facts in the world into types or kinds so that everyone has some ascription and their relations of inclusion and exclusion are made clear." The authors carried out

[1] Song Dynasty, *Zhongguo Lun*, Culai Ji, Scroll 4, *The Imperial Collection of Four*.

classification research in the Americas and Australia on the basis of clans, phratries and tribes, but their basis of classification for China was astrology, divination and the division of the seasons because they thought "China doesn't have the clan concept." This is clearly a wrong judgment, and when this book was translated into English, Rodney Needham in his long introduction severely criticized the passages articulating Durkheim's views on classification in China. He called Durkheim's position "empty and groundless assumption" and said, "There is no evidence for the grounds they use to support their position."[2] Of course, Durkheim and Mauss weren't the only ones who had an inadequate understanding of China's traditional form of classification based on organizing the clans and making distinctions between things. Even Chinese scholars failed to pay enough attention to traditional taxonomy on Chinese kinship groups.

The concept of *zu* (kinship group) and outlook on *zulei* (kinship types) have very ancient roots and form the basis for a kind of classification system in traditional Chinese culture. The Commentary on the Image in the hexagram Tongren (Fellowship of Men) of the *I Ching* states "The superior man organizes the clans and makes distinctions between things." This indicates the differentiation of objects in nature into types.[3] In oracle bone writing, the character for *zu* is made up of the elements flag and arrow, which is suggestive of using a banner to guide people and an arrow to kill the enemy, which indicates that military organization was based on families and clans.[4] The form of the character *zu* in inscriptions on ancient bronze objects should also be understood in this manner. On the *ding* of Duke Mao and other bronze artifacts, "the term *zu* is used uniformly to indicate a familial unit," and it also has the connotation of making war.[5] In the *Analytical Dictionary of Characters*, Xu Shen emphasizes this significance in his definition of *zu*.[6] The character *zu* has the same origin as several other characters all of which incorporate the idea of gathering together in one way or another.[7] Therefore, the original meaning of *zu* is the integration of a banner and an arrow, or one could say that *zu* means "military organization based on families or clans."[8]

However, this kind of meaning is primarily suitable for a society that is organized into clans and tribes. When a society becomes a country, clan armies evolve into standing armies of the state that are used by the ruling class to maintain its power, and the nature of armies is transformed by the country's rulers from their tribal nature into armies of the common people. At the same time that the militaristic aspect of the concept of *zu* withered away, its aspect of using a banner to guide people became more prominent. In the ancient history of China from the time Pangu created the world till the time of the Three Emperors and the Five Sovereigns,

[2] Emile Durhkeim and Marcel Mauss, *Primitive Classification*.

[3] See Hao Shiyuan (2004a).

[4] Xu Zhongshu (1988), p. 734.

[5] Xu Zhuoyun (2001), p. 161.

[6] Xu Shen (1963), p. 141.

[7] Wang Li (2000), pp. 422, 604.

[8] Zhou Cezong (2003), p. 99.

through the Xia, Shang Dynasties, and then the Spring and Autumn Period and Warring States Period, both ancient legends and historical documents reveal that as our ancestors progressed from primitive society to civilization, they progressed from clans to tribes based on blood relations to tribes based on geopolitical relations, to alliances of tribes, to states, during which time the form of kinship communities constantly evolved. During this process, the evolution of kinship communities and the formation of the state were always linked, and those who held state power constantly attached greater importance to the form of kinship communities.

If we consider China's forms of state that prevailed at the time, no matter whether we talk of the whole of China ruled by a king or of states ruled by princes, the conception of the people of the country or state in terms either of clans living together or of clans forming societies both reflect the connotation of clans as things of the same kind that come together and people of like mind who gather into the same group. This is what is meant by "clans forming societies. Men in positions of power follow this principle and common people gather together with like-minded people. Distinguishing things means making distinctions between things. Everyone forms groups with like-minded people so that groups are homogeneous and they don't intermingle."[9] This conception of people of like mind gathering into the same group in which group boundaries are established on the basis of forming homogeneous groups that don't intermingle and the societies that are formed on that basis were formed on the basis of families, clans or nationalities, and this basis of formation had a deep impact on the nature of Chinese society and culture. Therefore, the connotation of the concept of *zu* in ancient China "included both consanguinity and kinship,"[10] and encompassed the concepts of clan, tribe and nationality, and later came to take on the connotation of category or class.[11] Therefore, *zu* was an important taxonomical term in the classification of people.[12]

The period of the Three Emperors and Five Sovereigns in ancient China was a period in which social organization proceeded from tribes to alliances of tribes to a nation in which the importance of kinship relations diminished and geographical relations increased. As earlier ways of thinking were passed on and inherited through the Xia, Shang and Zhou dynasties, this became the basis for and legitimacy of integrating the myriad states in the empire. The lands they had dominion over were called *dianfu, houfu, suifu, yaofu* or *huangfu* lands based on the extent to which royal power extended to and held sway over them. This arrangement was also

[9] *Zhouyi Zhengyi*, Scroll 2, "Fellowship with Man," Ruan Yuan (ed.), *The Annotated Thirteen Classics*, p. 29.

[10] *Ci Yuan*, II. The Commercial Press, Beijing, 1984, p. 1393.

[11] *The Annotated Rites of Zhou*, Scroll 10, "The Offices of Earth," Ruan Yuan (ed.), *The Annotated Thirteen Classics*, p. 706.

[12] In ancient Chinese documents, the term *zu* occurred in numerous compound words. The Qing Dynasty *Yuding Peiwen Yunfu* records 160 such compound words, which can be divided into various types: words for kinship groups, social standing, surname groups, animal taxonomy, and miscellaneous uses. Remnants of this kind of traditional classification can still be found today.

a reflection of the degree of acknowledgement of the rule of the Son of Heaven. According to the royal regulations of the *Book of Rites*, "The minister of instruction defined and set forth the six ceremonial observances to direct and control the nature of the people; clearly illustrated the seven lessons of morality to stimulate their virtue; inculcated the eight objects of government to guard against all excess; and taught the sameness of the course (of duty) and virtue to assimilate manners."[13] In fact this was a basic requirement for state power to mold the people in a uniform way. A country unified by customs was actively and passively molded out of vassal states by educating the people in the rites and enforcing prohibitions by the exercise of government power. Therefore, after King Wu of Zhou defeated the Shang king at Muye, he then conquered 99 other states and an additional 652 states submitted to him, after which he ruled over a population of around one million in the eastern plains.[14] Even though this was a process of uniting disparate elements, it was also a process in which the basis for forming human groups shifted from kinship relations to geographical relations. Of course, this does not mean that people's traditional views on lineage and their worldview disappeared; rather the conception of fellowship with others was raised by state rulers to fellowship with one's countrymen and it lost the connotation of fellowship with members of one's clan or tribe. As for the division of land on the basis of the five categories of *fu*, the people living in the *yaofu* and *huangfu* lands, which were far from the center of power, were referred to by ancient tribal names as the four Yi, five Rong, six Di, seven Min, eight Man and nine He.

Of course, this kind of government authority exercised by military leaders and the state power it represented always used their own tribal identity as the standard for the national identity of the country, and they used it to name the country, identify the founder of the dynastic line and standardize society, and got officials and ordinary people in the country to accept legitimacy of their rule by convincing them that it was ordained by the gods.[15] The royal family and the royal bloodline became the basis for dynastic rule that perpetuated the family's position of power. In this kind of situation, among the common people the concept of family or clan played its traditional role only in the realm of social organization,[16] and only the nobility played the roles of family and clans in the organization of the state. The relation between the two was actually a relation between classes masquerading as a relation based on lineage, and the difference between the role of clans for the two social classes shows that in its basic nature, society was organized along class lines.[17] Under these conditions, all the states ruled by princes had the characteristics of states; however, in the "world"

[13] *The Li Ki* (Book of Rites), "Royal Regulations," James Legge tr. Kessinger Publishing, Whitefish, Montana, 2004, p. 189.

[14] Cf. Xu Zhuoyun (2001), p. 116.

[15] *Chunqiu Zuozhuan Zhengyi*, Scroll 46, "Shao Gong," Ruan Yuan (ed.), *The Annotated Thirteen Classics*, p. 2070.

[16] "Although at that time the common people congregated along clan lines, their clan system was quite different from that among the nobility." Tong Shuye (2003), p. 8.

[17] Tian Changwu (1980), p. 212.

ruled by the Zhou Dynasty's Son of Heaven, the term countrymen took on an increasingly regional connotation, and as the states became more autonomous and their political and economic interests diverged, the term lost all its kinship connotation as competition between states intensified. Just as Engels said, "In the collision of the newly-developed social classes, the old society founded on kinship groups is broken up; in its place appears a new society, with its control centered in the state, the subordinate units of which are no longer kinship associations, but local associations."[18] This is what the historical course of the competition for dominance between the many states in the Western Zhou Dynasty was like.

The Spring and Autumn Period began in the eighth century BC, and with it began a vibrant intellectual period in the East in which a hundred schools of thought appeared and contended with each other. This was the high point of intellectual life in China's history. As a united dynastic China began to appear, the level of scholarship gradually declined and a system of Confucian classical scholarship achieved intellectual hegemony. The *Book of Rites*, which is a compilation of pre-Qin Confucian thinking, contained a detailed exposition of the concept of the peoples of the five directions, which was the fountainhead of the classical Chinese concept of nationalities. It gives the following description of the diversity of human communities in China and the relations between them:

> *In all their settlements, the bodily capacities of the people are sure to be according to the sky and earthly influences, as cold or hot, dry or moist. Where the valleys are wide and the rivers large, the ground was differently laid out; and the people born in them had different customs. Their temperaments, as hard or soft, light or grave, slow or rapid, were made uniform by different measures; their preferences as to flavors were differently harmonized; their implements were differently made; their clothes were differently fashioned, but always suitably. Their training was varied, without changing their customs; and the governmental arrangements were uniform, without changing the suitability (in each case).*
>
> *The people of those five regions – the Middle states, and the Zung, I (and other wild tribes around them) – had all their several natures, which they could not be made to alter. The tribes of the east were called I. they had their hair unbound and tattooed their bodies. Some of them ate their food without its being cooked. Those on the south were called Man. They tattooed their foreheads, and had their feet turned in towards each other. Some of them (also) ate their food without its being cooked. Those on the west were called Zung. They had their hair unbound, and wore skins. Some of them did not eat grain-food. Those on the north were called Ti. They wore skins of animals and birds, and dwelt in caves. Some of them also did not eat grain-food.*
>
> *The people of the Middle states, and those of Yi, Man, Zung and Ti, all had their dwellings, where they lived at ease; their flavours which they preferred; the clothes suitable for them; their proper implements for use; and their vessels which they prepared in abundance. In those five regions, the languages of the people were not mutually intelligible, and their likings and desires were different. To make what was in their minds apprehended, and to communicate their likings and desires, (there were officers), in the east, called transmitters; in the south, representationists; in the west, Ti-tis [Ti-ti was a region]; and in the north, interpreters.*[19]

[18] Engels (2004), p. 26.

[19] *The Li Ki* (Book of Rites), "Royal Regulations," James Legge, tr., Kessinger Publishing, Whitefish, Montana, 2004, pp. 187–188.

These passages tell us that the resources and technology of the peoples of the five directions necessarily differed because of the climate and natural geography of their environment. These differences were manifested not only in people's temperament, thinking and behavior, but also in their food, tools, clothing and housing. Their languages and thinking were different, and different groups needed a translator to communicate. To convert the people of the four directions using the conception of rites of the central plains culture it was necessary to adjust to their customs and habits, and to use government decrees and laws of the central plains culture to unify all the peoples it was necessary to adapt to local conditions.

It can be seen that pre-Qin Chinese culture not only had an understanding of the diversity of human cultures and their relation to the ecological environment, but also developed a conception of nationality that was respectful of national diversity and was systematically embedded in feudal ethics, government decrees and law. This conception was the specific manifestation in relations between nationalities of the conception "harmony without uniformity" which was an important element of ancient Chinese philosophical thinking. This thinking included the principle of the unity of all the lands under heaven, the policy of ruling according to local customs and the goal of harmony without uniformity, which ran through all of Chinese history and is the internal logic of Chinese civilization that has been passed down uninterruptedly for millennia. The peoples of the five directions and their descendants together built a multi-nationality country.

The Spring and Autumn Period and Warring States Period was the first time the peoples of the five directions interacted, merged and clashed on a large scale. Training the people through rites and enforcing laws through punishments became the orthodox view of government rule and the standard for acknowledging the differences between the Hua-Xia people on the central plains and the peoples living in the four directions. The people of the central plains abided by and upheld the viewpoint of Zhou Dynasty rites that by persuading the barbarians by training and coercing them by government they could get them to adopt the culture of the Hua-Xia culture, and they opposed the notion of Hua-Xia people adopting barbarian culture and the idea that getting the barbarians to adopt Hua-Xia ways would eliminate national differences. Therefore, the Hua-Xia people formed the conception of a greater Xia culture that would include the barbarians on all four sides once they had adopted Hua-Xia cultural ways. This kind of thinking and motive force became the basic principle for unifying all the lands under heaven. From the earliest times down through the Spring and Autumn Period and Warring States Period, Hua-Xia culture constantly expanded from its origins to encompass the whole of the central plains and then spread out to include barbarians on all sides, and when the state of Qin, which was a Hua-Xia culture that once had been a western Rong barbarian culture, rose to prominence, it was Qin that realized the Hua-Xia dream of uniting all the lands under heaven.

### 2.1.3 *"Unite All the Lands under Heaven", "Rule According to Local Customs", and "Harmony without Removing Distinctions"*

After the Qin Dynasty was established in 221 BC, the Central Plains became the political, economic and cultural heartland of China. Advanced production methods, particularly in the area of agriculture, played an enormous historical role in consolidating the power of the central government and stimulating social development. The Qin Dynasty took aim at the lack of standardization throughout the empire wherein the lands of the former Warring States, farmlands were laid out in different ways, wagons had axels of different widths, people were governed by different laws, people wore different kinds of clothing, and they spoke and wrote Chinese differently; and he implemented a series of systems and policies to impose uniformity in all these areas. It instituted standard written characters, standardized the width of wagon axles, adopted a common set of weights and measures, and formulated and implemented a uniform set of laws throughout the land. It thus initiated a great historical trend that accelerated the process of unification that had long been carried out by the Hua-Xia people on the central plains, and the unification of writing had a particularly deep influence on the development of Chinese society. The Qin Dynasty's unifying the country and integrating society resulted in the development of the Han nationality, by far China's largest, and the adoption of Han cultures as the main culture of China. The dominance of Han culture was the one constant that ran through the successive rise and fall of dynasties over the next 2,000 years.

At the time of the Qin Dynasty was established and developed, the nomadic culture on China's northern plains also went through a stage of rapid development. In 209 BC, Modu Chanyu unified the nomadic tribes on the northern plains and established the Xiongnu Empire. From then on, the interrelations between the nomadic peoples in the north and the agricultural peoples on the central plains were the most important factor in the rise and fall of Chinese empires on the central plains in ancient times. Following the rise of the Xiongnu Empire the Xianbei, Rouran, Uygur, Tibetan, Turkic, Khitan, Jurchen, Western Xia, Mongolian, and Manchu nationalities in China's north, northeast, northwest and southwest constantly had intense and intimate interaction with China's central plains. Although this interaction for the most part took the form of warfare, it was also a clash between settled farming and nomadic herding ways of life, and economic and cultural exchanges were its main motivation. This kind of interaction between the center and the frontiers focusing mainly on economic and cultural exchanges greatly stimulated the development of the agricultural civilization and the increase of the population on the central plains, as well as the maturation of the methods of ruling the country. Therefore, history shows that no matter what nationality took power over the central plains, it always adopted and maintained the dynastic system. Therefore, new dynasties always carried on the traditions of its predecessors. This is dramatically illustrated in the 24 histories written by ancient scribes.

China's feudal society lasted more than 2,000 years from the Qin Dynasty to the Qing Dynasty, during which time many dynasties rose and fell, China's territory expanded and contracted, and many wars were fought. The position of legitimacy of the central plains dynasty was respected by all the dynasties, and they all practiced hereditary succession, but each succession involved a power struggle between the descendants of the peoples of the five directions. The only constant was that they all had the same objective, the unification of the whole country. After the fall of the Han Dynasty, no matter whether it was the Hua-Xia states of Wei, Shu and Wu, the northern Di and western Rong nationalities that tried to snatch power from the Han during the 16 Kingdoms Period, or the Liao and Jin dynasties that followed, they all had the same goal of ruling all the lands under heaven. At the same time, the dynasties on the Central Plains that strove to rule the far-flung reaches of the empire always adopted systems, policies and measures based on ruling according to local customs under which training was varied without changing customs and governmental arrangements were made uniform without changing their suitability. Politically, they made marriage alliances and sent officials to far-flung places; administratively, they used a combination of carrots and sticks; militarily, they instituted *duhu* and *weisuo*; economically, they set up markets for trading tea and horses; culturally, they disseminated Han culture and absorbed tribal cultures.[20] This included creating written languages for the Jurchen, Khitan and Western Xia cultures by using the elements from which Chinese characters are formed, and absorbing the barbarians into the Han culture of the central plains. An important historical reason the Yuan and Qing dynasties adopted Han institutions and laws is that they were both fascinated by the fact that the Han culture had survived and been passed down for so long. The goal contained in the maxims to unite all the lands under heaven and rule according to local customs was for a united multi-nationality country to have harmony without uniformity.

The principle of harmony without uniformity was the highest philosophical principle in ancient China for how to conduct oneself, interact with others and be a ruler. "Harmony" represents unity and conformity and "without uniformity" represents difference and diversity. The symbiotic relationship between the two consists in harmony respecting and including diversity and in diversity acknowledging and safeguarding harmony. In a class society, although harmony without uniformity is the ideal goal of enlightened government, it is very difficult to put into practice in dynastic politics. In the interactive relationship between the peoples of the five directions, it is manifested on the conceptual level by the exclusionary thinking in "Xironglun," "Those who are not of our kin are sure to be of a different heart,"[21] and in the statement in "Yixialun," "Even though Buddhism and Taoism have different systems of belief, Buddhists and Taoists do not demean each other's religion."[22] This kind of thinking and practice was not uncommon. Even though Buddhists were

[20] Historically, the spread of Han culture among and influence on native cultures on the country's borders was generally called "absorbing the culture of the barbarians."

[21] Fang Xuanling et al. (1974), p. 1531.

[22] Xiao Zixian (1972), p. 934.

excluded at certain times and there were religious conflicts surrounding Islam's entry into China, when foreign religions entered into China they were on the whole assimilated and no long-lasting religious conflicts arose. Although brutal wars between nationalities occurred on many occasions, they were quickly followed by reconciliations in which the victor treated the vanquished as an uncle treats a nephew, contacts between the two groups was established and the vanquished paid tribute to the victor. The concepts developed in the imperial courts on the Central Plains of allegiance to the crown, influencing the people through virtuous conduct, adopting a policy of conciliation, placating others concerns and adopting the customs of the victor all acknowledge difference within unity, even though they are permeated with concepts of inequality and royal prerogative that cannot be eliminated in a class society. Therefore, we cannot use the present-day conception of national equality to celebrate the enlightened policies of ancient Chinese governments. Nor is it necessary to lament and condemn the national oppression wrought by benighted rule in class societies. Rather, we must see the extent to which and manner in which the concept of harmony without uniformity was manifested in the formation and development of a united multi-nationality country.

### *2.1.4 All the Nationalities Together Building a United Country*

There were four stages of grand unification in the historical course of creating and developing a united multi-nationality country in China: during the Qin and Han dynasties, the Sui and Tang dynasties, the Yuan Dynasty and the Qing Dynasty. This general scheme overlooks the western Rong factor in the Qin Dynasty and the northern Di tribes in the Tang Dynasty, and the fact that the Yuan and Qing dynasties, which achieved unification on the broadest scale in Chinese history, were established by the Mongol and Manchu nationalities respectively invading and conquering China. Tibet was brought under the rule of the central government during the Yuan Dynasty, and Tibetan Buddhism was brought within the administrative scope of state affairs. During the Qing Dynasty, Taiwan became a provincial-level administrative unit, and Tibetan troops from Jinchuan, Sichuan on the mainland once went to Taiwan and put down the Lin Shuang-wen Rebellion. On three occasions during the reigns of emperors Yongzheng and Qianlong, the local rulers of the Taiwan wild and assimilated aboriginals made a pilgrimage to the mainland, where they received the same reception as Jinchuan rulers did at the imperial palaces in Beijing and Chengde.[23] These two dynasties made important contributions to laying an historical foundation for Chinese territory, stabilizing the social structure of China's multi-nationality society, and increasing contacts and cooperation between China's different regions and nationalities. History proves that in the mutual interaction between the Hua-Xia center and the four extremities of China, there was never the need to defend borders. This is why the

[23] Cf. Hao Shiyuan (2008).

Great Wall, the greatest military fortification in Chinese history beginning in the Qin Dynasty was used only to prevent marauding nomads from making incursions into the agricultural heartland of China and never served as the country's border. Unification is the major trend in Chinese history, and all the nationalities in our multi-nationality country have contributed to it. This kind of historical national conditions in China are unique in the world.

Historical facts show that China's history is the history of the peoples of the five directions and their descendants interacting and blending together. The political, economic and cultural identity of ancient China is rooted in these peoples and their descendants. This kind of historical foundation gives China the pattern of a unified multi-racial country, which has had a rebirth following the invasion and dismemberment at the hands of the Western imperial powers in modern times.

## 2.2 The "Racial Revolution", "Republic of the Five Nationalities", and Construction of a "State Nation"

### *2.2.1 China "Watches the World with Its Eyes Open"*

In the course of the development of human society, it is commonly agreed that the fifteenth century is the time when human history made the shift from local to world history. The development of the maritime industry enabled people to travel to far-away continents and adopt a global perspective. It can be said that the Mongol empire in the thirteenth century greatly expanded contacts between Europe and Asia, and 200 years later the voyages of Zheng He during the Ming Dynasty were China's first long-distance sea voyages. Concerning China's interactions with the rest of the world, these voyages were a major turning point in the development of Chinese society.

In the Ming Dynasty, China's shipbuilding industry and navigation capability were enormously developed, and Chinese sailors took many long sea voyages and learned about the great diversity of the world. Between 1405 and 1433, Zheng He captained seven armadas on long sea voyages and explored Southeast, South and West Asia as well as the east coast of Africa, during which he visited more than 30 countries and territories. Undoubtedly, this was the harbinger of intercontinental exchanges by sea that blossomed during the fifteenth century. Of course, his long sea voyages did not have a direct effect on world history. At the time, China's contacts with the world were limited to spreading the benevolence of the emperor, establishing diplomatic relations with other countries and showing kindness to people of other countries, and it in no way changed China's conception of itself as the Heavenly Kingdom and its self-satisfied attitude of self-sufficiency and isolation on the basis of which it restricted its diplomatic relations to receiving tribute from vassal states; nor did it change its traditional value system of emphasizing agriculture and slighting commerce. As a scholar aptly put it, "They went to show themselves,

not to see and learn; to bestow their presence, not to stay; to receive obeisance and tribute, not to buy."[24] Therefore, China lost its preeminent navigation capability when it closed its doors and prohibited further sea voyages.

In 1491, a half century after China put an end to its ocean voyages, the Spanish crown gave its support to Columbus's planned sea voyage. On October 12, 1942, Columbus stepped onto the shores of a small island in the Caribbean and claimed it as Spanish territory. Columbus's explorations that discovered the "New World" launched the age of European sea exploration. "Western society had reached the take-off point. It was ready to burst out, and when it did, it found the ocean ways clear, and it spread irresistibly over the entire globe."[25] This inevitably brought disaster to ancient civilizations and traditional societies on every continent.

Although China still maintained its preeminent position in many areas during the Qing Dynasty, the rest of the world was undergoing tremendous change. The Western world was undergoing the baptism of the Industrial Revolution and creating nation states that were going out into the world. The global impetus of the Western imperial colonial powers of necessity placed large civilized Eastern countries under siege. For the Western colonialists the East, China especially, was a mythical continent because the center of the world economy was at that time in Asia, with "China, Japan, and India in particular ranked first overall, with Southeast Asia and West Asia not far behind."[26]

In July 1793, the British diplomat George Macartney led a large British armada came to China with the purpose of opening the Chinese market and establishing trade relations. Differences between Chinese and British forms of etiquette were a source of conflict and the arrogant attitude of the Qing court during the halcyon days of emperors Kangxi and Qianlong led Emperor Qianlong to declare, "Our Celestial Empire possesses all things in prolific abundance and lacks no product within its own borders. There was therefore no need to import the manufactures of outside barbarians in exchange for our own produce." With this as his excuse, he declined British proposals for developing trade. Concerning the protocol conflict over whether Macartney should salute (as he insisted) or bow (as Qianlong insisted), historians, anthropologists and political scientists all have a view, but on this important political occasion of a meeting between East and West, it does not matter whether their cultural differences are attributed to a clash between tradition and modernity, between the expansionist ambitions of an imperial power and the self-protection of the Heavenly Kingdom, or between "the naturalizing discourse of European sovereign equality [and] the Qing process of hierarchical inclusion."[27] The failure of this diplomatic mission prompted the UK to begin the large-scale smuggling particularly of opium, which led to the Opium War in 1840.

After the Opium War of 1840, the Celestial Empire was forced by the powerful ships and cannons of the Western powers to open its doors. In a test of strength in

[24] Landes (1999), p. 96.

[25] Stavrianos (1998), p. 340.

[26] Frank (1998), p. 166.

[27] Hevi (2005), p. 246.

which ancient, traditional China used cold weapons against cannons and rifles, China was drawn into the world system dominated by the West. China's feudal society which had survived for 2,000 years began its modern history in a colonial or semi-colonial state. For Chinese at the time, from the supreme emperor to peasants tied to the land, this historic misfortune brought a precipitous drop in self-esteem from the preening pride of being the Celestial Empire to the loss of sovereignty and national humiliation, and from pride in one's culture to having a sense of inferiority. This forced Chinese to open their eyes and see the world and brought a large number of patriots who strove to save the country to the fore. They began to translate and introduce works from the West, opening the eyes of Chinese people to the world. Lin Zexu (1785–1850), who was praised as the "first Chinese to look out at the world," presided over the translation of *A Gazetteer of Four Continents*, which was one of the first works to introduce Chinese to the West. Following him, Wei Yuan (1794–1857) translated the *Illustrated Treatise of the Maritime Kingdoms* and the thinking of "using the barbarians theory to defeat them," both of which had an enormous influence on the creation of modern Chinese society. The concepts of democracy and science in Western culture and all kinds of political and academic theories entered China. This was called the Eastern spread of Western culture.

At that time, the Western works that had the greatest influence on the Chinese intellectual world were all ones whose works were translated by Yan Fu, such as T. H. Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics*, Herbert Spencer's *The Study of Sociology* and Edward Jenks' *A History of Politics*. The theory of evolution and thinking of the survival of the fittest that was spread through these works had an enormous impact on intellectuals' efforts to save China as well as on their conception of the state and nation. Of course, Chinese people's opening their eyes and looking at the world was a continuation in modern times of the far-reaching influence ancient Chinese culture had on East Asia. During the Meiji Restoration in Japan, the Japanese relied very heavily on Chinese translations of Western works. Between 1660 and 1895, Chinese translations of Western works were of great interest to Japanese politicians and intellectuals, and hundreds of them were translated from Chinese into Japanese. These translations created enthusiasm in Japan to begin translating works directly from Western languages into Japanese.

China lost the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895. This result led Chinese intellectuals to hold the view that the Eastern spread of Western culture bloomed in China but came to full flower in Japan and they frantically launched the field of Eastern Studies to search for the secret to making the country strong. Many governmental and non-governmental translation bodies were established with the purpose of giving priority to Eastern culture while supplementing it with Western culture and of placing greater emphasis on politics than art. People began collecting all kinds of Japanese documents in a variety of ways, and many people were trained to become Japanese translators. At that time, Chinese who had gone to Japan played an important role in translating and introducing Japanese works. They not only started a large number of periodicals but also organized compilation and translation institutes and publishing houses, and published notable compilations of translations

in 1900 and 1902.[28] In the voluminous translations of Japanese and Western works, political works were most prominent, but works in sociology and ethnology played an ever more important role. The influx of ethnological knowledge into China got Chinese to recognize their cultural diversity and national unity and develop a new national outlook.

### *2.2.2 Nationality and Race-Nationalism*

The term nation has been a part of the Chinese language since very early times, and it occurs for example in a line in a Tang Dynasty poem, "Since ancient times, nations have been living in Guangdong."[29] This is a kind of ancient system of organizing the clans and making distinctions between things, and it distinguishes the nobility and commoners and between Hua-Xia culture and the four Yi and incorporated clan distinctions within it.[30] In the 1870s, when the Japanese translated a large volume of political writing, they used the Chinese term *minzu* to translate the German word *volk* and the English words ethnos and nation. After the Japanese philosopher Enryou Inoue founded the magazine *Nihonjin* in 1888, the term *minzu* became widely used in Japan and influenced the whole news media.[31] After the Chinese term *minzu* was endowed with a Western connotation by the Japanese, it came back to China at a time when the Chinese were exploring how to establish a modern nation-state.

After the failure of the Reform Movement in China, Liang Qichao went into exile in Japan where he was influenced by a large number of intellectual currents. Among the thinkers he was exposed to, Liang Qichao was most influenced by Johann Caspar Bluntschli's theoretical thinking about nationality and nations.[32] It was against this backdrop that the concept of nation in the modern sense and its accompanying theoretical discourse spread throughout China. The fact that the term nation came to be widely used is directly related to the historical process in which China rose out of the depths into which it had sunk and sought to establish a modern nation-state. After Liang Qichao introduced the term "Chinese nation" in 1902, it became a key concept in transforming Chinese society from a traditional monarchial system to a modern nation-state. In a multi-nationality country like China, does the term Chinese nation connote the Han Chinese nationality alone or all the Chinese people including all the minority nationalities? Was the Manchu Qing Dynasty a Chinese dynasty? These are questions that academic and political experts and ordinary citizens gave careful consideration to in course of building a Chinese nation-state. In light of China's history of thousands of years of unremitting interac-

[28] Cf. Wang Xiaoqiu (2000), p. 401.

[29] Pi Rixiu, *Pizi Wensou*, Scroll 1, "You Fu," *Complete Library of the Four Branches of Literature*.

[30] Cf. Hao Shiyuan (2004).

[31] Komori Youichi (2003), protophysical, pp. 142, 149–50.

[32] Cf. Zheng Kuangmin (2003), p. 263.

tion between "the peoples of the five directions," the creation of a modern concept of nation was a complex process. The first problem that had to be faced in the process of creating a nation-state in modern China was how to define China and the Chinese nation. How could the Western conception of one nation, one state accommodate the long history of the interaction of the peoples of the five directions? And how could it account for the Manchu nobility establishing the Qing Dynasty in the traditional manner.

In the national crisis in which the Qing Dynasty faced the incursions of the imperialist great powers and the erosion of its sovereignty and territorial integrity and the redrawing of its borders, Chinese people's conceptions of lofty ideals, country, nation and race were tested severely and changed dramatically. The bitterness they felt because of the weakness and incompetence of the Qing government and its actions of ceding territory and paying reparations led them to long to change the government and find a path of national salvation, and they unhesitatingly took the political orientation of overthrowing the Qing government. Under the intellectual influence of the notion in the theory of evolution that natural selection is the survival of the fittest, the feeling of national superiority of the Qing ruling class and its policy of national oppression led to a racial-nationalist movement to drive the Manchu rulers from power and restore rule by Han Chinese that was manifested in widespread anti-Manchu attitudes in society. In fact, this kind of attitude has been common in the creation of modern nation-states, that on the one hand "sanctions the nation-state as the only legitimate form of polity" and on the other hand shows "how Social Darwinism joined race and history to the nation-state."[33] In the course of the transformation of dynastic China through the interaction of its many nationalities over millennia, the traditional conceptions of dynastic orthodox, the Yellow Emperor, and the distinction between the Hua-Xia people in the center and the other peoples on the periphery inevitably became part of the conception of nationalism in the modern Chinese nation-state.

The theoretical thinking concerning nationalism and nation-states that influenced Chinese intellectuals and the gentry class came mostly from Japan and Germany, and both of these countries were composed almost entirely of people of just one nationality, so they conformed very closely to the Western theoretical concept of nations. Therefore, the first conception Chinese intellectuals had of a nation-state was one in which the concept of race was an integral part of the notion of a nation-state composed of a single nationality. At the turn of the twentieth century, the tide of nationalist and nationality thinking concerning the salvation of the country was accompanied by racial thinking of strengthening oneself so the race can survive, and conflicts between the concepts of world and the state, subjects and citizens, nation and race, and Hua-Xia and barbarians that dominated the debate between reformists and revolutionaries.[34] Although this debate was permeated with the influence of Social Darwinism, it was primarily about *volk* and nation.

[33] Prasenjit Durara (1995), pp. 69, 70.

[34] For example, Kang Youwei's "Qu Jijie, Ping Minzu," "Qu Zhongjie, Tong Renlei," and "Datong Shu"; Liang Qichao's "Lun Bianfa Bi Zi Ping Man Han Zhi Jie Shi" and "Bianfa Tongyi"; Zhang

In 1905, Liu Shipei published *China Ethnography*. This was the first work on Chinese ethnography written by a Chinese scholar influenced by Western scholarship. At the same time as he traced the thread of the historical interaction of the peoples of the five directions, Liu Shipei also took the standpoint of reenergizing the Han nationality by "protecting those of the same race and expelling those of other races" out of deep concern about the crisis the country was in, and he thought that only by overthrowing the Manchu Qing Dynasty would it be possible to put an end to the incursions by the Western great powers. There were two kinds of responses to his discourse on nationality. On the one hand there was a worshipful attitude toward the great Han emperors of ancient times and a longing for the return of a Han Chinese to the imperial throne; and on the other hand, there was the hypothesis that the Han nationality originated in the West.[35] It was with this kind of conflicted mentality based on a combination of racial and nationality thinking that traditional Chinese intellectuals absorbed and used the Western theory of nations, and began to formulate a Chinese concept of nation in the course of the crisis China was in during the late Qing Dynasty. In this process their exposition and definition of the concept of the Chinese nation became the subject of prolonged discussion and explanation, and it was then that the concept of the Chinese nation was equated with the concept of the Han nationality to the greatest extent at any time in history.

### *2.2.3 The Revolution of 1911 and the Republic of "the Five Nationalities"*

No great incident occurred in 1911 that captured the world's attention, but in the East, a revolution occurred that had earth-shaking consequences for China. The Revolution of 1911 a hundred years ago put an end to the feudal monarchy that ruled China for 2,000 years, and it opened the door that enabled China to escape from its extreme poverty and weakness and the incessant bullying of the Western imperialist powers, take the path of an integrated state and nation, and begin the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. This revolution not only meant that the transformation from a feudal monarchy to a modern nation-state began, but also that the Chinese people's status changed from that of subjects to that of citizens. Creating the national unity of a modern nation also created the nationality underlying national unity. During the course of this process, the concept of Chinese nationality was

Binlin's "Xu Zhongxing" (1 and 2) and "Qiu Shu"; Zou Rong's "Geming Bi Pouqing Zhongzu" and "Geming Jun"; and Chen Tianhua's "Renzhong Shulue" and "Meng Huitou." All published by Huaxia Publishing House, Beijing, 2002.

[35] At that time, in light of the extreme poverty of the Chinese people and weakness of the Chinese state, and the great superiority of Western warships and cannon, in order to arouse the Han Chinese to oppose the Manchu Qing Dynasty and mobilize the whole of Han society, together with a sense of the superiority of Westerners and a wish to be their equals, the notion was spread that the Han nationality originated in the West and the reason they now suffer humiliation is that they are under the rule of the barbarian Manchu Qing Dynasty.

transformed from the narrow meaning of race to a broader meaning embracing all of China's nationalities.

In the nationalist revolutionary movement of the bourgeoisie class in the waning years of the Qing Dynasty, the motto that had the greatest power to mobilize the people was "Overthrow the Qing Dynasty and expel the Manchus." The Revolution of 1911 led by Sun Yat-sen was the beginning of the creation of a Chinese nation-state. Nationalism was the most powerful intellectual impetus for setting off a national liberation movement and creating a nation-state. Among the many proposals for establishing a modern nation-state, the racial thinking of expelling the Manchus and reviving China and reconstituting China on the basis of the 18 provinces in which the Han nationality constituted a large majority. This proposal sought to exclude the three northeast provinces, Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang and Tibet from China, and it manifestly was an intolerant view that ran counter to China's history of numerous nationalities building China together. In fact, this racial-nationalist political proposal was of no positive use whatsoever in making China into a modern country and played directly into the hands of Japan, the British Empire and Tsarist Russia, all of which coveted these lands. In December 1911, the nobility of Outer Mongolia declared the country's independence, and shortly thereafter Hulun Buir in Inner Mongolia declared "independence" aided and abetted by Tsarist Russia. In January 1913, the 13th Dalai Lama declared Tibetan "independence" in Lhasa, which was the result of the British Empire's incursions into Tibet in an attempt to split it off from China and make it a British colony. At the same time, Tsarist Russia made incursions into Xinjiang and launched the Altai War in an attempt to occupy northern Xinjiang. These threats of splitting Mongolia, Tibet and Xinjiang off from China were a consequence of the racial-nationalist proposal that members of the revolutionary party that advocated it didn't expect. This threat forced the republic to develop new ideas on nationality, the state and the country's territory.

In the course of the Revolution of 1911, the leaders of the bourgeois democratic revolution with Sun Yat-sen as their representative realized that the revolution to overthrow the Qing Dynasty wasn't just a racial-nationalist revolution, and that "the subversion of the monarchy was a political revolution."[36] Looking at the corruption of the Qing Dynasty, Sun Yat-sen thought that if a Han Chinese were to become emperor, that kind of government must also be overthrown. The purpose of the revolution was not to expel the Manchus. On this matter Sun Yat-sen had a clear understanding of the country's historical conditions and its present dangers. On New Years' Day 1912, he made a declaration in the capacity of the provisional president of the Republic of China, and said, "The foundation of the country is its people, and its people include the Han, Manchu, Mongolian, Hui and Tibetan; the Han, Manchu, Mongolian, Hui and Tibetan peoples are all one people. This is national unity. After the Wuhan Uprising, more than ten provinces declared their independence, that is, their independence from Qing rule; but they together constitute a union, which includes Mongolia and Tibet. They act in unison and their aims are not divergent. The crux is the center, and it reaches out in the four directions. This is what is meant

[36] Sun Yat-sen (2000), p. 250.

by territorial unity."[37] This political declaration gave a clear exposition of the national and territorial unity of the Republic of China. This was the first time a republic of the five nationalities was advocated.

When the Revolution of 1911 erupted, a number of southern provinces declared independence from the Qing court and proposed the formation of a republic. The Qing government thereupon appointed Yuan Shikai premier with the power to use the Northern New Army to suppress the revolution. In the standoff between North and South China, Yuan Shikai supported the formation of a republic. The Qing emperor was forced to abdicate, Sun Yat-sen yielded the presidency and peace talks brought peace. On February 12, 1912, Emperor Puyi announced he was abdicating the throne and formally declared the end of the Chinese monarchial system. On March 10, Yuan Shikai formally assumed the presidency. The next day, he promulgated the Provisional Constitution of the Republic of China, which reaffirmed the principle of making the country a republic of the five nationalities, and stipulated, "The territory of China consists of its 22 provinces plus Outer and Inner Mongolia, Tibet and Qinghai." On April 22, Yuan Shikai issued a presidential order stating "the present republic of the five nationalities includes the whole of Mongolia, Tibet and Xinjiang; they are all part of the territory of the Republic of China, and the members of the nationalities living there are all citizens of the Republic of China." Subsequently, Sun Yat-sen stated, "A republic has been established, and our compatriots in Mongolia, Tibet, Qinghai and Xinjiang, who have always been a part of China, are all now Chinese citizens who are masters of their country."[38] Although the republic of the five nationalities did not equally and objectively reflect the reality of all China's nationalities, it transcended the limitations and narrowness of making China a country constituted of the 18 provinces in which the Han nationality constituted a large majority. It was an important step forward in forming the present concept of Chinese nationality, and it played a positive role in including all of China's nationalities in together building China, and stimulating all China's nationalities to identify with the motherland and resist the incursions and dismemberment by imperialist powers.

### *2.2.4 Joint-Provinces Autonomy and a Federal State*

The fruits of the Revolution of 1911 were harvested by Yuan Shikai. The political misfortunes that immediately followed, such as the assassination of Song Jiaoren in March 1913, led Sun Yat-sen to organize the "Second Revolution" and lead a crusade to oust Yuan Shikai. After the failure of Sun Yat-sen's "Second Revolution", Yuan Shikai formally became president and immediately disbanded the Kuomintang and the national assembly. The Constitution of the Republic of China, promulgated

[37] "Manifesto of the Provisional President," *Complete Works of Sun Yat-sen*, Zhonghua Book Company, 1982, Vol. II, p. 2.

[38] Sun Yat-sen (1912).

on May 1, 1914 stated, "The Republic of China is constituted of the Chinese people" and "The territory of the Republic of China has the same borders as the empire that preceded it." These statements contain indications of the intention to restore the monarchy. In 1915, Yuan Shikai restored the monarchial system and made a short-lived attempt to revive the Chinese monarchy under the name Hongxian Dynasty, which only resulted in the Chinese people launching the National Protection War to oust him. In March 1916 Yuan Shikai abdicated and restored the Republic. Subsequently, China was splintered into regions ruled by warlords who fought with each other. For the next 10 years incessant civil wars raged throughout China with more than 100 conflicts large and small until the victory of the National Expedition in 1926–1927 put an end to the fighting.

During this period, Yuan Shikai's strongman politics and the attempts to restore the monarchy were a serious setback to the process of instituting a constitutional monarchy, and political and academic circles and ordinary people closely followed debates over the form of government as relations between the central authorities and the regions shifted. As a result of the declarations of independence at the outbreak of the Revolution of 1911 when the Chinese sought to shake off Qing rule, the next rush for independence brought about by Yuan Shikai's dissolution of the national assembly and his ascension to the throne, as well as the internecine wars between with warlords who had carved up China, debate raged throughout China over proposals for regional autonomy or the establishment a federal government constituted of provinces. Between 1920 and 1922, there was widespread support for a federal system that gave the provinces considerable autonomy, and there were countless demonstrations in which the people of Sichuan, Hubei, Guangdong or some other province demanded self-rule. In fact, Sun Yat-sen advocated the formation of a federal government during the Revolution of 1911. However, after the creation of the Republic, a number of political misfortunes occurred that led him to hope for a kind of federalism with a strong central government in which central and local powers were balanced so that there were local powers without dissolution and central powers without autocracy; and he looked at the North American federal system as the most appropriate choice. In fact, the discussions on this issue included explorations on the major issue of how China should build a modern country after the fall of the Qing Dynasty and how to eradicate the fragmentation of the country brought about by warlordism. So the positions and proposals of all politicians involved, including Sun Yat-sen, were very fluid, and for a long time they constituted a kind of political thinking that influenced and were influenced by domestic and international factors, during which time the original conception of federalism rooted in local autonomy was expanded into a federalism based on national self-determination.

In fact, in relation to the creation of a modern nation-state, the issue of the connotation and denotation of the term "Chinese nation" could not be resolved on the basis of the concept of a republic of the five nationalities. The concept of the Chinese nation evolved from Liang Qichao's conception of Han chauvinism in which the Han, Manchu, Mongolian, Hui, Miao and Tibetan nationalities together constituted a single all-encompassing nationality; through Sun Yat-sen's concepts of a republic

of the five nationalities and national unity in which the "Han, Manchu, Mongolian, Hui and Tibetan nationalities were viewed as one people"; "a new conception of the Chinese nation based on an adaptation of the American melting pot metaphor"; and finally to Li Dazhao's conception of a "new Chinese nationalism" in which "the cultures of the five nationalities gradually merge into one" and "all citizens of the Republic of China are members of the new Chinese nation."[39] Although this evolution of the term caused the denotation of the term Chinese nation to cast off the shackles of its earlier racial connotation, the connotation of the term still had the Han nationality as its basis. This made it impossible for Sun Yat-sen's thinking on nationalism to free itself from the American melting pot stereotype. In addition, the Western idea of one nation, one country caused Sun Yat-sen to completely lose hope that a republic of the five nationalities could overcome the separation between North and South China and the fragmentation caused by the warlords.

### *2.2.5 Building "a State Nation" in "a Melting Pot"*

In 1919, Sun Yat-sen spoke of the republic of the five nationalities and the five-colored flag that was its symbol, "Since the founding of the Republic, the country has been splintered on several occasions, and the five-colored flag has invariably contributed to the breakup." Using the "five-color flag of Qing Dynasty militarists" makes it "difficult to exterminate the Qing Dynasty military autocracy."[40] In fact, the blame Sun Yat-sen attached to the symbolism of the five-colored flag should not be placed entirely on the mistake of making use of Qing Dynasty militaristic symbolism but also on the questionable use of the five-color flag to represent the equality of the five nationalities. In speaking of the republic of the five nationalities in 1920, Sun Yat-sen said, "This term 'five nationalities' is very inappropriate. Our country has far more than five nationalities." His party's mistakes led him to do some soul-searching and then to say, "Since the recovery, hereditary officials, reactionaries and people trying to restore the monarchy have formed a chorus praising the republic of the five nationalities. It turns out that this was the basic mistake." He thought that the Han nationality numbering in the hundreds of millions never "genuinely independently created a country of the Han nation," so how could the Manchu, Mongolian Hui and Tibetan nationalities numbering in the millions be equal partners with them in a republic of the five nationalities? How could it be possible that these nationalities, which were under control of the Japanese, Russians or British on China's borders "expect the Han nationality to help them when they were incapable of defending themselves?" Such help must be grounded in nationalism, which would be forthcoming only if "the Manchu, Mongolian, Hui and Tibetan nationalities assimilated into the Han nationality and China became a large nationalist country." "This would transform the ideal in the notion of the republic of the five nationalities that all

[39] Shou Chang (1917).

[40] Sun Yat-sen (2000), p. 240.

nationalities are equal into a process of assimilation." Brothers seeking a way to reconcile would take the Han nationality as the center and assimilate to it, and other nationalities would see this as the only opportunity to become part of the country. This meant "following the American model, and transforming the Han nationality into a Chinese nation to create a nation-state in the full sense of the word, so that China, located in the Eastern hemisphere, would be the world's second great nation-state." In addition, "No matter what nationalities became a part of our country in the future, they would have to assimilate into the Han nationality. The nationalism our party supports is a positive nationalism. Do not forget that."[41]

Sun Yat-sen thought that "eliminating inequality between nationalities" is negative nationalism, and positive nationalism is "uniting all the nationalities in the country." Here, the term "unite" means putting all the nationalities except the Han nationality into an American-style melting pot, and it doesn't mean excluding them as the advocates of expelling the Manchus wanted or treating all nationalities as equals as advocates of a republic of the five nationalities wanted. Rather, the goal was to create a greater Chinese nation on the basis of the principle that the more nationalities there are in the melting pot, the larger the territory of the country will be.[42] How is it possible for a large number of nationalities to "be transformed into one Chinese nation?" Sun Yat-sen proposed that the Han nationality sacrifice its lineage, history and sense of self-importance, and be smelted in the melting pot too. The purpose of this smelting is not to fuse all the ingredients into one, but to "assimilate the Tibetan, Mongolian, Hui and Manchu nationalities into the Han nationality to create the largest possible nation-state. This is the self-determination of the Han nationality."[43] This self-determination of the Han nationality means making the nationalism of the Han nationality be the fire in the melting pot that creates the Chinese nation just like people of all colors from all over the world are made into Americans in their melting pot. It is not necessary to achieve the negative goal of equality of nationalities. To achieve this kind of positive nationalism, "China's many nationalities need only to be transformed into the Chinese nation and to make it a highly civilized nation; then the nationalization process will be completed."[44] That is to say, the process he advocated of creating a nation would be completed.

Of course, the Revolution of 1911 led by Sun Yat-sen could not create a democratic republic, but on the contrary it led to military autocracy, the restoration of the monarchy, local separatism, warlord war, and division between north and south, and China's external predicament of intense pressure by the imperialist powers was just as bad as the internal situation. In the aftermath of the Revolution of 1911 during the second decade of the twentieth century, a worldwide upsurge of nationalism began, and the West European capitalist countries basically completed creation of their nation-states. In 1913, Lenin made this judgment concerning these two historical tendencies concerning nationality question that appeared in the Western world. The

[41] "Specific Implementation of the Three People's Principles," *ibid.,* pp. 260–262

[42] Sun Yat-sen (1985), pp. 1, 3.

[43] Sun Yat-sen (1985), p. 24.

[44] "Speech at a Meeting of the Chinese Kuomintang in Shanghai," *ibid*., Vol. V, p. 394.

first trend was, "the awakening of national life and national movements, the struggle against all national oppression, and the creation of national states."[45] A classical Marxist author wrote, "Nation-states are a necessary stage of capitalist development" and was "the essential foundation for developing production at a certain stage of capitalism."[46] Therefore, in both Western Europe and the whole world, "the national state is typical and normal for the capitalist period."[47] In addition, wherever national movements arose, including those parts of Asia that were divided up and colonized by the great powers, "the tendency of these movements is towards the creation of national states in Asia; that it is such states that ensure, the best conditions for the development of capitalism."[48] Without doubt, Sun Yat-sen's commitment to the revolution and the creation of a nation was a part of this trend.

However, the crisis of China's feudal society and the weakness of its bourgeois class made it inevitable that the bourgeois revolution he led and the nationalism he advocated would fail, and consideration of a positive nationalism that creates a greater Chinese nation by means of a melting pot or a negative nationalism that advocates equality between nationalities was just empty talk. The Chinese revolution required new political vitality. The time from 1915 with the rise of the New Culture Movement to 1919 and the May 4th Movement, was a period in which China received a new impetus to get out of the dilemma it was in after the Revolution of 1911 and begin creating a modern nation-state. This new of impetus was Marxism, which came to China following the October Revolution in Russia in 1917. It infused a new vitality into the Chinese revolution that had never succeeded and opened a new stage with a new history of the exploration of a path to create a modern nation-state.

## 2.3 The Chinese Nation and a United Multi-nationality Country, National Self-determination, Autonomy and Building a Federal Country

### *2.3.1 National Self-determination, Autonomy and a Federal Government*

In 1917, the October Revolution led by Lenin was victorious. This was the beginning of the shift of Marxist scientific socialism from the realm of theory to that of practice. The great impact of the Russian revolution was felt in China and throughout the world. At that time, the domestic and international environment was one in which a group of Chinese early Marxist intellectuals spawned a proletarian party in

[45] Lenin (1971), p. 15.

[46] Lenin (2009), p. 88.

[47] Lenin (1967), p. 602.

[48] *Ibid*., p. 605.

China. The CPC became the primary force leading the people of all nationalities in China in taking a new path of sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and unity of the country and nation. This is because "In India and China, the awakened proletarians can only take a national road as their states have not become nation-states."[49] The CPC had already taken this historic mission to be their bounden duty.

The CPC was founded in 1921. Before that, Li Dazhao, Chen Duxiu, Mao Zedong and other early communists had already turned their attention to China's nationality question and the prospects for unifying China in the course of studying and spreading Marxism, and participated in varying degrees in activities such as discussions of the Chinese nation and provincial rule. In a letter to Cai Hesen and others in a work-study program in France in 1920, Mao Zedong wrote, "Our work is not confined to China. I think we certainly should have people working in China, but it is even more important to have people working abroad, for example, by helping Russia complete its social revolution, helping Korea and Indonesia become independent, and helping Mongolia, Xinjiang, Tibet and Qinghai achieve autonomy. All this is urgent."[50] This letter not only reveals his broad-minded view on world revolution and the ideological height of his aspiration to liberate all of mankind, but also reveals his basic thinking on how to solve nationality question in the Chinese revolution and his ideological orientation of starting from China's concrete realities. The distinction between helping Korea and Indonesia achieve independence and helping Mongolia, Zhejiang, Tibet and Qinghai achieve autonomy clearly reveals the distinction he makes between China and foreign countries. The basic content of his proposals embodies the basic thinking of Marxism-Leninism concerning nationality question in colonial countries, embodies a connection between national liberation movements and the proletarian revolutionary movement, and reflects the standpoint of the equality of all nationalities.

In July 1922, the Second Congress of the Communist Party of China issued a political manifesto on solving nationality question. The CPC maintained that since 1840, "The Chinese people suffered 90 years of oppression so it is in the best position to understand the meaning of the equality and self-determination professed by the imperial countries." At the same time it states, "Genuinely establishing a unified nationalist country that enjoys internal peace can never be accomplished without eliminating the pressure of the warlords and the imperial powers." This manifesto on the one hand demonstrated the geographical unity of China proper (including the three northeast provinces) from the perspective of the unity of economic life, and on the other hand took his starting point for consideration of the border areas of Mongolia, Xinjiang and Tibet to be the economic and nationality differences between them and China proper, and on this basis stated, "The effort to unite them with China proper by military force has already failed and resulted only in increasing the power of the warlords and blocking the progress of Mongolians and other nationalities in achieving autonomy without bringing any benefit whatsoever to the people of China proper. Therefore, the Chinese people should oppose separatist-style

[49] Lenin (2009), p. 89.

[50] Mao Zedong (1983), p. 3.

federal autonomy and grand unification under militarist rule. First of all, they should overthrow all warlords, unify China proper through the people and establish a genuine democratic republic. At the same time on the basis of the principle of economic differences, they should on the one hand prevent the warlords from becoming more powerful, and on the other hand on the basis of respect for the people on the frontier facilitate the creation of three self-governing territories in Mongolia, Tibet and Xinjiang, and on that basis create a federal republic of China whose unity is genuinely democratic."[51] This quote shows that the CPC very clearly stated the goal of the anti-feudal democratic revolution, while at the same time taking China's actual conditions as its standpoint in opposing the use of forcible unification by the feudal warlords to expand their power. It respected the right of self-determination of the minority nationalities on the border in its scheme to create a federal republic of China by first uniting China proper and then creating a union of it with the three autonomous territories of Mongolia, Tibet and Xinjiang. The CPC's opposition to a federation of autonomous provinces within China proper in order to lay a foundation for a united, sovereign and independent China. The CPC proposed creating autonomous territories on its borders and uniting them with China proper in a federal republic of China in order to maintain the territorial integrity of China on the foundation of the equality of nationalities.

Of course, this proposal of the CPC, especially the part about establishing a federal country was directly related to its sending a delegation to Moscow in 1922 to participate in the First Congress of Communist Parties and Revolutionary Groups of Far East Asian Countries. At that congress Lenin discussed the theory and struggle strategy concerning nationalism and colonialism, and stated that China must extricate itself from the colonial pressure of imperial powers and overthrow warlord rule in order to establish a democratic republic. In the course of leading the Russian Revolution, Lenin learned that in a large country with complex nationality relations, "Federation is a transitional form to the complete unity of the working people of different nations."[52] Lenin's basic thinking on nationalism and colonialism and his experience in establishing the Soviet Union influenced not only the CPC, but also the Kuomintang. At that time the two parties faced the same international and domestic circumstances and faced the fervent wishes of all Chinese to expel the great powers and overthrow the warlords. In addition the Communist International established contacts with and cooperative relations with the Kuomintang and infused new political ideas into the Kuomintang's political program. This not only prompted Sun Yat-sen to carry out reorganization of the Kuomintang and establish cooperation with the CPC, but also gave new expression to the Kuomintang's position on solving nationality question. In November 1923, the Communist International issued the Resolution concerning the Chinese National Liberation Movement and the Kuomintang, in which it stated, "The Kuomintang must adopt the principle that all nationalities in China have the right of self-determination and on this basis

[51] "Manifesto of the Second National Congress of the CPC," *A Collection of Documents on the Problem of Nationalities*, Central Party School Press, Beijing, 1991, pp. 15, 17.

[52] Lenin (1961), p. 464.

oppose foreign imperialism. After victory over feudalism and the warlord system is achieved in China, this principle must be embodied in the free Chinese federal republic that is formed by all the nationalities out of the former Chinese empire."[53] This principle was already incorporated in the manifesto issued by the Second Congress of the CPC.

### 2.3.2 *"The Clan and State Nation" as Described in the Three People's Principles, Namely Democracy, Nationalism and People's Livelihood*

The First National Congress of the Chinese Kuomintang was held from January 20–30, 1924 and was presided over by Sun Yat-sen. In Sun Yat-sen's words, this was "the second time our party was reorganized, this time on the Soviet model" in an attempt succeed in the national revolution. That congress made the objective of overthrowing imperialism a plank of its platform, and also changed Sun Yat-sen's nationalist thinking, stating nationalism has two meanings, "First, the Chinese nation seeks its own liberation, and second, all the nationalities within China's borders are equal." At the same time, Zheng Zhong declared, "We acknowledge the right of self-determination of all nationalities within China, and after victory in the revolution against imperialism and warlordism, we will establish a freely organized Republic of China (which all nationalities freely join)."[54] The Nationalist Government's Program for Reconstruction declares, "The government should support the small and weak nationalities in the country so they can be self-determining and autonomous."[55] Although the Kuomintang had some differences in the interpretation of key terms in this document – "autonomy," "federal system," "free association" and "unified country" – with the parties that drafted the manifesto – representatives of the Communist International, the revolutionary government representative of the Soviet government stationed in Guangzhou, and Bao Luoting, the high-level consultant appointed by Sun Yat-sen – the content of this manifesto differs very considerably from the position Sun Yat-sen had always advocated concerning nationalism.[56] The cooperation that was established between the Kuomintang and the CPC in 1924 was directly affected by the experience of the Communist International and Soviet federal government in establishing the Soviet Union resulted in the wording of the two parties' policies on the country's nationality question in their political programs being very similar. However, the Kuomintang's conception of a greater Chinese nation was a new interpretation of nationalism, and that raised the question of

[53] Communist International.

[54] "Manifesto of the First National Congress of the Chinese Kuomintang," *Complete Works of Sun Yat-sen,* Zhonghua Book Company, Beijing, 1986, Vol. IX, pp. 118, 119.

[55] "The National Government's Program for National Reconstruction," *ibid.,* p. 127.

[56] Cf. Masumi Matsumoto (2003a), pp. 116–119.

whether Sun Yat-sen had changed his conception of nationalism. On January 24, 1924, Sun Yat-sen began lecturing once a week on the Three People's Principles. Perhaps this was his way of responding to the discrepancies between his position before the congress and the position the congress took on nationality question.

Sun Yat-sen's thinking on nationalism in the Three People's Principles can be characterized as a direct development of thinking on this issue at the end of the Qing Dynasty and the beginning of the Republic, and it systematically expounded the representative works of modern Chinese thinkers on the issue. For China, which had been a multi-nationality country since ancient times, specifying the understanding of the concept of nation and its carrier was the foundation for establishing a nation-state. Therefore, in his first speech on nationalism, Sun Yat-sen explained, "The English word for *minzu* is nation. The term nation has two meanings, a nationality and a state." In China, "When I speak of nationalism I mean Han nationalism and when I speak of the nation I mean the Han nation."[57] Sun Yat-sen spoke this way because he believed that from the Qin and Han dynasties onward in China, one nationality founded one state, and it was not the case that one nationality founded multiple states or multiple nationalities founded one state, as occurred elsewhere. Therefore, the phrase "one nationality, one country" was suitable for China, but not for some other countries such as Great Britain. However, a republic of the five nationalities and the five-colored flag are both indicative of five nations. This of course was contrary to the original meaning of Sun Yat-sen's conception of nationalism. However, the series of setbacks after the revolution led him to take the conception of the melting pot on the basis of which the Manchu, Mongolian, Hui and Tibetan nationalities were merged into the Han nationality to create one nation as his basic line of thinking on the Chinese nation.

In subsequent lectures on nationalism, Sun Yat-sen gave a series of expositions on his thinking on nationalism. He believed for China to be saved and the Chinese nation to exist forever, "It is necessary to advocate nationalism," because "This thing called nationalism is a treasure that a country uses to try to develop and a nationality uses to try to survive. China has lost this treasure."[58] In order to recover this treasure, Sun Yat-sen not only reverted to the idea of racialism and nationalism, but also repeated the mistake of claiming that the Chinese came from the West. He thought that considerations of reason alone would suggest that the source of Chinese culture was the Pearl River basin and not the Yellow River basin; "However solid historical research shows incontrovertibly that the great ancient monarchs – Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu – all lived in the northwest, not the Pearl River basin. In the Han Dynasty, the Pearl River basis was still peopled by barbarians. Therefore, the Northwest was the source of Chinese culture, and it came there from abroad. The Chinese people call themselves the "hundred families" and foreigners claim that in ancient times there was a nationality called the hundred families that later

[57] Sun Yat-sen , *Nationalism*, Speech 1, "The Three People's Principles," *Complete Works of Sun Yat-sen,* Zhonghua Book Company, Beijing, 1986, Vol. IX, p. 2.

[58] *Nationalism*, Speech 3, *ibid.*, p. 26.

migrated to China."[59] He thought this was "in accordance with the axioms of nature." Therefore, what should be done to restore the nationalism of the Han nationality? He believed it was necessary to rely of China's "strong family and clan groups." He thought it was necessary to adhere to the family and clan system that had dominated social life in China since the Qin and Han dynasties, and then form a large group encompassing the whole country on the foundation of these small groups, and "Thereby expand clanism into nationalism."[60] This view of family, clan and nation had a powerful influence on the Kuomintang's conception of nation.

On the basis of this conception of nationalism, he renounced both the notion of a republic of the five nationalities and also the proposal to establish a federal government. He thought that the proposal to create a federation of autonomous provinces and first write provincial constitutions and then write a federal constitution was "the height of folly and those who advocate it are parroting what others say without examining it." He thought that China's conditions were very different from America's, and that the 22 provinces consisting of the 18 provinces of China proper together with the three Northeast provinces and Xinjiang, plus the special regions of Rehe north of Hebei, Suiyuan in present-day Inner Mongolia, and Qinghai, as well as Mongolia and Tibet were united in the Ming and Qing dynasties and as far back as the Yuan Dynasty. "When we overthrew the Qing Dynasty we inherited all its territory, which is presently the territory of the Republic. Why should we divide up a country that has always been united?"[61] Concerning the federal system, Sun Yat-sen made a comparison between China and the United States in which he argued that the nationality questions in the two countries are completely different. All of China's nationalities were united in grand unification, especially in the Yuan and Qing dynasties, whereas America's nationalities were all assimilated in the melting pot, which included the two times China was subjugated, once in the Yuan Dynasty and once in the Qing Dynasty"[62] This kind of affirmation of the unity of the country, and negation of Mongol and Manchu minorities taking power over the whole of China is directly contrary to his view of the unity of the two meanings of nation (nationality and state). Although on the surface Sun Yat-sen's notion of a nation is in accordance with the conception of the creation of a state nation with a unified national identity on the model of a nation-state, but his interpretation of China's situation of the peoples of the five directions and their descendants interacting over thousands of years on the basis of the melting pot metaphor of the American immigrant society is not in accordance with the facts and is quite likely a manifestation of Han chauvinism. Because of the danger of dissolution posed by the imperialists at the time, the so-called positive nationalism of assimilating other nationalities into the Han nationality, advocating assimilation in the Northeast, Mongolia, Xinjiang and Tibet would not accomplish anything and only make the situation worse. This notion of a nation and the wish to unify the country did not and could not solve the

[59] *Nationalism*, *ibid.*, p. 34.

[60] *Nationalism*, *ibid.*, p. 53.

[61] *Nationalism*, Speech 4, *ibid*., pp. 116–117.

[62] *Nationalism*, Speech 2, *ibid*., p. 14.

problem of how China could create a modern nation state in the aftermath of the Revolution of 1911. This was a limitation of China's bourgeois revolution.

In his expositions of the Three People's Principles, Sun Yat-sen expressed some views concerning Marxism, the Russian Revolution and the New Culture Movement. On these occasions, he frequently commented on the relation between internationalism and nationalism. Although one can see in these remarks that he took the Soviet Union as a guide, he also said, "We can learn something from Marxist thinking, but we cannot follow Marxist methods."[63] Therefore, concerning some content of the Declaration of the First National Congress of the Chinese Kuomintang, he clearly stated, "Political programs and -isms are fundamentally different. -Isms are eternal and cannot be changed, but political programs are products of their times and can be revised."[64] The Three People's Principles that Sun Yat-sen propounded and pursued is an -ism that cannot be changed. This obviously is the starting point of his systematic exposition of it. Concerning elements of the political program in the Declaration of the First Congress, he thought they could be changed after a year had passed. However, his theoretical schema of family, clan and nation became a political legacy of the Kuomintang.

### *2.3.3 Self-determination and Self-rule of Minority Nationalities*

After Sun Yat-sen died in 1925, the Kuomintang announced the formation of a Nationalist government headed by Wang Jingwei. Wang Jingwei had once debated the meaning of the terms nation, autonomy and unify with Bao Luoting,[65] and during the disagreements between the constitutional and revolutionary factions at the end of the Qing Dynasty and the beginning of the Republic had expressed his thinking on nationalism in the essay "National Citizens." He insisted that blood lines are a sufficient condition for specifying a nationality, and stated that a necessary condition for making China into a multi-nationality state is "for our nationality to be in the position of control and draw the other nationalities to us." He considered a "racial revolution" to be an indispensable component of a political revolution to overthrow Qing Dynasty rule, and stated, "Changing the Qing-Han power structure is a political revolution and also a racial revolution."[66] As a result, his position was viewed as "racial nationalism" with the Han nationality at its core.[67] The following year the Kuomintang held its Second National Congress, and the Declaration of the Congress did not advocate the "self-determination and autonomy of small and weak

[63] *Ibid*., p. 203.

[64] Sun Yat-sen (1986), p. 178.

[65] Masumi Matsumoto (2003b), p. 116.

[66] Lo Jiu-jung (1994), p. 82.

[67] Frank Dikötter (1992), pp. 112, 123.

nationalities," but rather stated that if small and weak nationalities established their own countries, imperialist countries would take advantage of the situation.[68] This is probably directly related to the assimilation advocated by Wang Jingwei. The changes in the Kuomintang's political program concerning nationality question was just one sign of the rise of anti-Russian and anti-CPC thinking within the Kuomintang after the death of Sun Yat-sen. In the 2 years the Kuomintang and CPC cooperated, a series of major changes occurred in the situation of the revolution, especially the May 30th Massacre in Shanghai that enraged the people and roused them to action, which resulted in many ordinary people joining the revolution and a significant increase in the ranks of the CPC and its influence. Subsequently, cooperation between the Kuomintang and CPC resulted in victory in the eastern campaign and the unification of the Guangdong revolutionary base. In March 1926, the occurrence of the Zhongshan Warship Incident, which was a suspected plot to capture Chiang Kai-shek, gave him the opportunity to launch a coup and assume sole power over the Kuomintang.

After Chiang Kai-shek carried out the April 12 coup d'état in 1927, which was the beginning of the violent suppression of the CPC by the Kuomintang, the Chinese revolution suffered a grievous setback, and the great revolution failed. After the Northern Expedition, China again fell into the chaos of warlord civil war. The Japanese militarists did not lose the opportunity to intensify their encroachment on Chinese soil, which resulted in the Jinan Massacre and other tragedies, while China became engulfed in civil war and the threat that the country would perish and the people would be subjugated drew near. These harbingers of impending disaster resulted in the people turning their attention away from party politics and toward more immediate personal concerns. In 1928, Chang Naide, a historian of the New School that sprang up after the May 4th Movement, published the *Concise History of the Chinese Nation*, in which he expressed a new view on the Chinese nation, "China is a famous ancient country, and the Chinese nation is a great and famous nation in the world… Over the course of 5,000 years countless people of great wisdom and high character did their work in difficult circumstances with painstaking perseverance to make achievements unlike those of any other nationality and become a great nation, and these achievements brought China fame. The Chinese nation is not a simple nation, and it is not comprised solely of the descendants of the Yellow Emperor."[69] Although this passage adopts the point of view of historical fusion, his position that the Chinese nation is not a simple nation comprised of the descendants of the Yellow Emperor is far superior to earlier notion of racial nationalism with the Han nationality at its center.

At that time after the failure of the great revolution, the Chinese Communists rose up to overcome their adversity, and in this situation the Party's August 7 Meeting adopted the general policy of agrarian revolution and armed resistance against the reactionary faction of the Kuomintang; this shifted the Chinese revolution away from the Communist International Movement and onto a new path of

[68] Masumi Matsumoto (2003b), p. 124.

[69] Chang Naide (1928), p. 1.

surrounding the cities from the countryside. This historic choice not only had decisive significance for the salvation of the Party and the revolution, but also shifted the Party's mobilization work to areas populated by minority nationalities. This made the question of how to correctly handle the struggle of minority nationalities for liberation in the actual conditions that prevailed in minority nationality areas a practical problem the Party had to face. At the Sixth National Congress of the CPC in 1927, for the first time a resolution concerning nationality question clearly stated that the scope of the question of minority nationalities within China's borders included "the Mongolian and Hui people in the north, Koreans in Manchuria, Taiwanese in Fujian, Miao and Li aborigines in the south, as well as Xinjiang and Tibet."[70] The concept of minority nationalities within China's borders broke through the limitations of the idea of the republic of the five nationalities, and made it clear that the question of minority nationalities "is of great significance for the revolution." After this congress, the Party's primary-level organization wrote "unify China and acknowledge the right of self-determination of Manchu, Mongolian, Hui, Tibetan Miao, Yao and all other nationalities" into the political program of the Tenth National Congress.[71] The First National Congress of Soviets held at Ruijin, Jiangxi, in November 1931, announced the establishment of the provisional central government of the Chinese Soviet Republic, and at the same time that it promulgated the Outline Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic, it also passed a resolution concerning the question of minority nationalities in China. This document stated, "The Chinese Soviet Regime recognizes the right of self-determination of China's minority nationalities, and has always recognized the right of weak and small nationalities to break away from China and become independent countries. The people of the Mongolian, Hui, Tibetan, Miao, Li, Korean and other nationalities that live within China's borders have the complete right of self-determination. They may join or leave the Chinese Soviet Federation or establish their own autonomous region. The Chinese Soviet Regime will strive to help weak and small nationalities throw off the repressive rule of imperialists, the Kuomintang, warlords, the nobles, Lamas and local chieftains and achieve complete freedom and autonomy. The Soviet regime will also help these minorities to develop their national culture and language."[72] This is the basic policy and principle adopted by the CPC for establishing a regime and solving problems within the country by legal means, and its objective was to eventually establish "a country without nationality boundaries and eliminate all hatred and prejudice between nationalities." The specific policies and demands to achieve this goal included developing productive forces and nationality

[70] "Resolution of the Sixth National Congress of the CPC on the Problem of Nationalities," *A Collection of Documents on the Problem of Nationalities*, Central Party School Press, Beijing, 1991, p. 87.

[71] "*The Communist Manifesto* Printed by the Party Headquarters of the Fourth Front Army of the CPC Red Army," *A Collection of Documents on the Problem of Nationalities*, Central Party School Press, Beijing, 1991, p. 97.

[72] "Outline Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic," *A Collection of Documents on the Problem of Nationalities*, Central Party School Press, Beijing, 1991, p. 166.

culture, language and writing systems in minority nationality territories, training minority nationality cadres and opposing all manifestations of Han chauvinism. This included "opposing so-called Sun Yat-sen nationalism because he completely represents the interests of landlord and capitalist class, and this conception of nationalism is fundamentally incompatible with that advocated by the Chinese Soviet Republic."[73] Unquestionably, most of this content came from the Communist International, and much of it was forced on the Chinese writers of the document. "The Communist International repeatedly gave instructions on China's problems, and invariably pointed out the necessity of a correct strategy concerning weak and small nationalities within China's borders."[74] At the same time, the effects of Leftist adventurism and dogmatism were felt. Nevertheless, the Party's work in minority nationality areas had already entered the stage of tailoring guidance to the situation. For example, the Party advocated autonomy for Inner Mongolia and the Hui nationality in the West, but in Yunnan, where Han people were intermixed with a number of minority nationalities, it was not deemed appropriate to advocate independence. "Objectively speaking, that would fracture the united front of workers and peasants united with minority nationalities, and the French imperialists in Indochina would certainly take advantage of the situation. In fact, the propaganda slogan used at the time was 'national self-determination,' not 'national independence.'"[75] Self-determination, not independence was what the CPC had always advocated when it advocated "nationalities' right of self-determination," which included "autonomy," and it also was the goal it always advocated of establishing "a genuinely democratic and united" country.

Although Lenin maintained that the "right of nations to self-determination… except for political self-determination, that is, national independence and establishing a nation-state, cannot have any other meaning." However at the same time, Lenin set forth a basic principle, "The categorical requirement of Marxist theory in investigating any social question is that it be examined within definite historical limits, and, if it refers to a particular country (e. g., the national programme for a given country), that account be taken of the specific features distinguishing that country from others in the same historical epoch."[76] Although the CPC received enormous pressure from the Communist International and the demand for absolute obedience from the Leftist dogmatic faction of the CPC in the course of the its practice of Marxism-Leninism, it never stopped taking China's actual conditions as its starting point and exploring how to integrate Marxism-Leninism with the concrete realities of the Chinese revolution. This is also true of its efforts to solve China's domestic nationality question.

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[73] "Resolution on the Problem of Minority Nationalities in China," *ibid*., pp. 169–170.

[74] Chen Shaoyu, "Strive to Make the CPC More Bolshevik," *ibid*., p. 148

[75] "The CPC Central Committee's Letter of Directive to the CPC Yunnan Provincial Committee," *ibid*., p. 148.

[76] Lenin (1967), p. 606.

### 2.3.4 *The Liberation of Minority Nationalities Was an Integral of the Chinese Revolution*

In 1931 the Japanese fomented the September 18 Incident and Chiang Kai-shek ignored the grave threats to the country while he carried out an extermination campaign against the workers and peasants Red Army led by the CPC and it bases on the grounds that to resist foreign aggression it is necessary to first pacify one's own country. After the resistance to this attack failed, the Red Army led by the CPC was forced to begin the Long March. The unimaginable arduous Long March not only manifested the great spirit and firm will of the Chinese people's pursuit of the independence of the country and the liberation of the people, but also set the theory and practice of the CPC's efforts to solve the nationality question on a new course. The experience the Red Army gained passing through areas inhabited by minority nationalities not only initiated a thorough development of the Party's nationality work on the foundation of correcting Leftist mistakes, but also got the Party to gradually realize the complexity of nationality question. Under the conditions of heavy national oppression over a long period of time, the economic and social development of minority nationalities was extremely backward. Their internal class distinctions and methods of governance were all different, and the internal unity they cultivated fighting national oppression to a considerable extent covered over and diminished internal class contradictions. The deep understanding the CPC acquired about minority nationalities made it realize that their rulers not only had great authority and prestige within their own nationalities but also that they were the only representatives of the nationalities' interests and they "monopolized all of their nationality's relations with the outside world." At the same time, "the upper class clearly played a revolutionary role" in resisting imperialist aggression and oppression by the domestic reactionary ruling class. Because of their ability to appeal to their people, "Our Soviet Red Army could not avoid developing relations with these representatives."[77] Taking Marxism as his guide and the concrete realities of China's nationality situation as his starting point, Mao Zedong focused on the relation between the revolution in minority nationality areas and the Chinese revolution, and set forth thinking that had strategic scope and tactical significance. "The oppression of nationalities has its basis in the exploitation of them. If the system of exploitation is overthrown, national free association will replace national oppression. However this will be possible only if the Chinese Soviet regime is completely victorious, so supporting it in winning victory nationwide is also the responsibility of all minority nationalities."[78] This thinking makes it clear that the task of the revolutions of the minority nationalities was to overthrow national oppression through an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle in order to achieve national liberation and exercise

[77] "On the Policies for Our Work Related to the Miao and Yao Nationalities – Directive of the Political Department of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army," *A Collection of Documents on the Problem of Nationalities*, Central Party School Press, Beijing, 1991, p. 244.

[78] Mao Zedong (1991a), p. 211.

the right of national self-determination, and it was not to carry out a class revolution within one's own nationality under the conditions of national oppression. At the same time, nationalities' struggle for liberation against oppression was not isolated but was intimately connected to the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution led by the CPC and it was an integral part of the Chinese revolution. The complete victory of the Chinese revolution required minority nationalities to support the struggle to win national liberation, and the desire the minority nationalities had to be liberated could only be achieved through the complete victory of the Chinese revolution.

This important thinking not only laid the theoretical foundation for integrating the movement of minority nationalities to achieve liberation into the torrent of the Chinese revolution and the establishment of the broadest possible national united front during the Anti-Japanese War, but also clearly demonstrated the fundamental principle that the basic orientation of the Party's nationality work during the stage of the new-democratic revolution and the internal revolution of minority nationalities was different from the course, tactics and orientation of the revolution in areas populated by the Han nationality. For example, this standpoint fully respected the form of rule within nationalities and did not prematurely demand that they launch an internal class revolution; fully respected the religious beliefs and customs of minority nationalities and safeguarded their interests; fully respected the right of minority nationalities to manage their own internal affairs and did not impose the soviet system of government on them; established an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic united front linked with the civil and religious upper class so that the minority nationalities would support and participate in the Chinese revolution; and so on. These correct principles and policies were formulated when the Red Army spent in minority nationality areas during the Long March and they played an important part in improving the Party's nationality relations. The people of minority nationalities encountered a new kind of Han army that treated them as equals and did not commit the slightest offence against civilians, and this engendered the minority nationalities, trust, respect and endorsement of the Red Army that led them to willingly support and participate in the Chinese revolution.

### *2.3.5 Frontier Crisis and the Broadest Possible National United Front*

After the Japanese imperialists seized China's three Northeast provinces, it quickly carried out its plan to first subjugate the Manchu and Mongolia nationalities which it had to first accomplish before conquering all of China. The first step in its long-range plan to instigate "Manchu and Mongolian independence" was to create the puppet country of Manchukuo with Puyi, the last Qing emperor, its puppet head of state. In 1933, a portion of leagues and banners in Inner Mongolia under the leadership of Demcugdongrub launched the movement to establish the "Inner Mongolia

autonomous government" that would rule with a high degree of autonomy. That same year, an "East Turkistan Muslim Republic" appeared in the Kashi region of Xinjiang, and serious conflicts between Xikang and Tibet and between Qinghai and Tibet broke out in the Southwest. In 1934, British imperialist forces seized the mining regions of Banhong and Banlao in Yunnan, thereby raising the incursions by British and French allied forces in Yunnan to a new level. The crisis of China's land routes on its border regions that persisted throughout its modern history reached a new intensity. This led the CPC to acquire a clearer understanding of the gravity of the minority nationality situation while it was on the Long March. Further publicizing and mobilizing the national liberation movement became an important task. Its basic principle was under the guidance of the common goal of minority nationalities to overthrow imperialism and feudalism, to "boldly encourage the movements for self-determination, independence and autonomy of Miao and Yi nationalities, expand the autonomous bodies of the Miao and Yi nationalities, intensify the launching of anti-imperialist, anti-Kuomintang activities and the anti-tax and anti-gentry struggle, and establish a grassroots minority nationality united front."[79] The CPC encouraged "the Tibetans to establish a people's revolutionary government on their own initiative" and to "arm themselves; create a guerilla army, self-defense force and people's revolutionary army; and join the Chinese Red Army."[80] In the North, the CPC advocated the formation of a united front of Mongolian and Han people to oppose the Japanese, the Kuomintang and the gentry, "expanded the content of the struggle to converge with the Inner Mongolia revolutionary movement, and took the road of overthrowing rule by imperialists, the Kuomintang and the gentry and establishing a people's government."[81] Of course it is equally clear that these declarations emphasized encouragement and propaganda, and the judgments and language clearly reveal the influence of the Communism International. However, they rest on the principle that the revolutionary struggle of minority nationalities "can achieve national liberation only under the leadership of Communist Party through national self-determination by organizing their own soviets and red armies and joining the fight of the Chinese Soviet Republic against its enemies – the imperialists and Kuomintang warlords."[82] On this point, this was an expression of a sense of responsibility on the part of the CPC for the national liberation movement and the

[79] "The CPC Sichuan Provincial Committee Accepts the Decision of the CPC Central Committee on the Program of the 13th Plenary Session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and the Resolution of the Fifth Plenary Session of the Sixth CPC Central Committee," *A Collection of Documents on the Problem of Nationalities*, Central Party School Press, Beijing, 1991, p. 221.

[80] "Message of the CPC Central Committee to the Tibetan People," *A Collection of Documents on the Problem of Nationalities*, Central Party School Press, Beijing, 1991, p. 285.

[81] "Letter of the Northern Representative of the CPC Central Committee to the CPC Inner Mongolia Committee," *A Collection of Documents on the Problem of Nationalities*, Central Party School Press, Beijing, 1991, p. 231.

[82] "Program of the Special CPC Southern Sichuan Committee for the Current Struggle of Workers and Peasants in Southern Sichuan," *A Collection of Documents on the Problem of Nationalities*, Central Party School Press, Beijing, 1991, p. 259.

success of the new-democratic revolution and also an inevitable choice of the CPC at a time of crisis for the country and its people to mobilize all nationalities to oppose imperialism, the rule of the Kuomintang and national oppression.

The Red Army's Long March established a firm foundation for the Party to thoroughly develop its nationality work during the Yan'an period and also for the Party under the correct leadership of Mao Zedong to scientifically get a grasp of the actual national conditions of China's nationality question, creatively explore the basic path for solving it, and accumulate experience in this regard. The Japanese imperialists' war of aggression and its activities in the Northeast and Inner Mongolia to divide and rule made mobilizing all China's nationalities and people of all classes to unite with one mind and oppose the Japanese together an extremely urgent task. After the Xi'an incident and its peaceful resolution, the Kuomintang and CPC again cooperated and fought the Japanese under a common flag. Mao Zedong called on the hundreds of millions of Chinese to form a national united front to resist the Japanese. A "national united front" is a united force constituted of all of China's nationalities; it could be called a united Chinese nation. As the crisis brought on by the foreign invasion and conflict between China and Japanese imperialism rapidly escalated, the mobilization of nationalities transcended the mobilization of classes, and the broadest possible anti-Japanese national united front that encompassed all of China's nationalities was established. The need to mobilize China's nationalities inevitably led to the ideological and theoretical interpretation of the common nature of China's nationalities and their common interests.

### *2.3.6 The Term Chinese Nation Is a General Term Encompassing All of China's Nationalities*

On July 7, 1937, the Japanese imperialists carried out the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, which was the start of a comprehensive war of aggression throughout China. The Chinese people faced a critical situation more perilous than any before, and the words from China's anthem, "This is the most perilous time for the Chinese nation" aroused Chinese society. Chinese people's sense of national identity increased; articles in the media about the Chinese nation drew widespread attention, and academics frequently discussed the Chinese nation. By that time the knowledge that had been spread during the Eastern spread of Western learning had brought significant changes to China's traditional academic system, and the disciplines of ethnology, anthropology, national history and frontier political science had all developed to varying degrees. The terms nation, nationalism, nation-state, minority nationality, border region nationality, and state-nation and their relevance to China were given careful consideration by everyone who had followed the nationality question since the discussion of the republic of the five nationalities. In 1937, Jiang Yingliang, a historian of nationalities, expressed his views on the term Chinese nation, "We can say we understand ourselves and revitalize the Chinese

nation only if we have an equally thorough understanding of all the nationalities within China's borders."[83] After the doctrine of the republic of the five nationalities was put forth, mention of the Miao, Yao, Fan, Yi and other nationalities appeared and were gradually mentioned more often in the political programs of the Kuomintang and CPC, along with frequent mention of Sun Yat-sen's statement, "How can it be that our country has only five nationalities?" However, concerning such contemporary political issues as nationalism, self-determination and autonomy, there was no consensus on acknowledging the actual multi-nationality structure in China or the equality of all nationalities in China. There was no dispute on the issue of the Han nationality absorbing, merging with and assimilating all the minority nationalities; the notion of racial nationalism had already fallen out of favor. However, the view that the Chinese nation was equivalent to the Han nationality was still prevalent. Jiang Yingliang's viewpoint was firmly planted on the then multi-nationality structure of China and an understanding of the multi-nationality foundation of the Chinese nation.

In the academic debates on the concept of the Chinese nation at that time, Yang Song published the article "On Nation" in 1938 in which he put forth the view that the Chinese nation is a modern nation, "The Chinese people are a modern nation. Does this mean that China has only one nationality? No. China is a multi-nationality country. Concerning the outside world, the term Chinese nation denotes all the nationalities in China, so it is the core of all the nationalities in China. It unites all the nationalities in China into a modern country."[84] The new content in this essay starts with the statement, "China is a multi-nationality country" and continues with the Chinese nation is the face China presents to the world, that is to say the Chinese nation is the form China has when it stands among the nations of the world. However, within China itself the Chinese nation is only "the core of all the nationalities in China," and they are represented externally under the name of the Chinese nation. Nevertheless, in the essay, when he says "speaking of nationalities", he is referring to all the different nationalities. However, as for nationality (in the sense of citizenship), members of all China's nationalities are all citizens of the Republic of China. They are all "compatriots of the same motherland" and this makes the notion of Chinese nation in this essay very close in meaning to the concept of a state nation.

The most representative controversy in academic discussions of the concept of the Chinese nation was the one between the historian Gu Jiegang and the anthropologist and ethnologist Fei Xiaotong concerning the proposition, "The Chinese nation is one."[85] Gu Jiegang published "The Chinese Nation Is One" in 1939, in which he analyzed and criticized the then prevalent notions of the republic of the five nationalities and of China proper from the perspective of the historical assimilation and merging of nationalities; opposed again dividing the Mongolian, Manchu, Hui, Tibetan, Miao and Yao nationalities; and argued that there is only one Chinese

[83] Jiang Yingliang (1937).

[84] Quoted from Masumi Matsumoto (2003b), p. 225.

[85] Gu Jiegang (1939a), p. 4; Fei Xiaotong (1939), p. 4; Gu Jiegang (1939b); and Gu Jiegang (1939c).

nation, which in fact is the Han nation, which throughout history constantly assimilated minority nationalities. In "A Discussion of the Problem of Nationalities," Fei Xiaotong made a conceptual analysis of the connotation of "nation"; acknowledged that Chinese people come from different groups that have different cultures, languages and physiques; and on this basis compares China to Soviet Russia, which is a politically unified country composed of many nationalities. In short, the former emphasized the unity of the Chinese nation, and the latter emphasized its diversity. The academic discussions on this issue were for the most part a dialogue between historians on one side and ethnologists and anthropologists on the other, and this dialogue was of great significance in making China into a modern nation-state.[86]

The debate over the concept of a Chinese nation was not limited to academic circles. It was a major political issue affecting the fate and future course of the country that was of great concern to people of all China's political parties, social classes and nationalities as they together resisted Japanese militaristic aggression, opposed the dismemberment of China along its borders by foreign imperialists, and aroused a sense on national identity among the people of all China's nationalities as they united against the enemy. Therefore, no matter whether or not Chinese politicians paid attention to academic discussions concerning the Chinese nation, this issue had a bearing on the peril that the country and nation were in and so it forced them to consider the situation under which the anti-Japanese war intensified conflicts between nationalities. In 1939 Mao Zedong published "The Chinese Revolution and the Communist Party of China," in which he gave a holistic new explanation of the Chinese nation that surpassed the efforts those who preceded him, "Over nine-tenths of China's inhabitants belong to the Han nationality. There are also scores of minority nationalities, including the Mongol, Hui, Tibetan, Uygur, Miao, Yi, Zhuang, Zhongjia and Korea nationalities, all with long histories though at different levels of cultural development. Thus China is a country with a very large population composed of many nationalities."[87] This essay had a firm grasp of China's national conditions both past and present. On this basis, the CPC articulated its national outlook, "China has 450 million people who together comprise the Chinese nation. The Chinese nation encompasses tens of nationalities, including the Han, Manchu, Mongolian, Hui, Tibetan, Miao, Yao, Li and Yi nationalities. It is the most industrious and peace-loving nation in the world. China is a multi-nationality country and the term Chinese nation is a common term for all the nationalities within its borders."[88]

In 1942, Chiang Kai-shek also gave an explanation of the Chinese nation, "our Republic of China was established by the whole Chinese nation, and the term Chinese nation is a general term for the union of the five nationalities – the Han,

[86] This served as the historical background upon which Fei Xiaotong articulated theoretical proposition that China is "a diversified, integrated nation" decades later.

[87] Mao Zedong (1991b), p. 622.

[88] "Political Reader for Anti-Japanese Soldiers," United Front Work Department of the CPC Central Committee (ed.), *A Collection of Documents on the Problem of Nationalities*, Central Party School Press, Beijing, 1991, p. 808

Manchu, Mongolian, Hui and Tibetan. In saying we are five nationalities, not five nations, I mean that we are all members of the same Chinese nation just like brothers are members of the same family.… Clans are made up of many families, and these clans in turn make up the Chinese nation.… Therefore, there is only one Chinese nation, and the most appropriate term for the groups of which it is constituted is 'clan.'"[89] The following year, Chiang Kai-shek published *China's Destiny*, in which he further emphasized, "From the perspective of the historical growth of nations, the Chinese nation is the product of the merging of many clans. The number of clans that merged into the Chinese nation increased over time, but the impetus was always cultural and was never military force, and the method was always assimilation and never conquest.… This is how the nationalities of ancient China were formed.… In short, China's 5,000 years of history were written together by all these clans."[90] This was the first time following the death of Sun Yat-sen that the Kuomintang explained the nature of the Chinese nation on the basis of Sun Yat-sen's teachings, that is, using the formula "family-clan-nation." Of course, at that time there were still some adherents to this formula, but as for uniting all China's nationalities to fight the anti-Japanese war and struggle together to establish a united country, it did not have any positive effect beyond encouraging Han chauvinism.

### *2.3.7 Establishing a United People's Republic and Exercising Regional National Autonomy*

The affirmation of the multi-nationality nature of China and the clarification that the term Chinese nation was a general term applying to all of China's nationalities strengthened the CPC's conviction that it should establish a state in which all China's nationalities were united. The workers' and peasants' revolution was the revolution the CPC waged and led. On the one hand it reflected the vanguard role of the working class, and on the other hand it reflected a principle stated by Lenin, "It would be utopian to believe that proletarian parties in these backward countries, if indeed they can emerge in them, can pursue Communist tactics and a Communist policy, without establishing definite relations with the peasant movement and without giving it effective support."[91] The workers' and peasants' revolution was a class revolution, and in a country in which imperialism was strong and feudalism was oppressive and in which the national bourgeoisie was weak and the proletariat was not strong, it had to maintain close contact with the national revolution even if doing so meant merging with it, because in the national liberation movement in a colonial or semi-colonial country, "the peasantry constitutes the main army of the national movement, and there is no powerful national movement without the peasant army,

[89] Chiang Kai-shek (1984), p. 216.

[90] Chiang Kai-shek, *China's Destiny* (1943), Chin Hsiao-yi (ed.), *Collected Works of President Chiang Kai-shek*, China Cultural Services Co., Ltd., Taipei, 1984, Vol. IV, pp. 2–6.

[91] Lenin (1968), p. 603.

nor can there be."[92] However, for the Chinese revolution, especially in the situation of the Japanese militarist invasion of China, resisting the Japanese was the foremost revolutionary task, and it was necessary to establish the broadest possible national united front in order to win the liberation of the Chinese nation. The struggle against imperialism required the participation of all nationalities and all classes. This is the reason the CPC changed the name of the Soviet Workers and Peasants Republic to Soviet People's Republic at its Wayaobu Meeting in 1935.

The resolution passed at this meeting states, "In order to provide a broader and stronger foundation for the national united front, the Soviet Workers and Peasants Republic and its central government declare that it has changed its name to the Soviet People's Republic, and also changes many of its policies, that is policies of the Soviet Workers and Peasants Republic, to more appropriately suit the situation of opposing the attempt of the Japanese imperialists to make China a Japanese colony." This change of policy shows that the CPC and the Soviet People's Republics not only represented the interests of the masses of workers and peasants, but also represented the basic interests of the Chinese nation. "The basic interests of the Chinese nation lie in the freedom, independence and unity of China, and it is only under the firm policies of the Soviet that these basic interests can be won and preserved and can thoroughly defeat the enemies of these interests – imperialists and traitors."[93] At the same time, Mao Zedong published "On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism," in which he advocated changing the name of the Workers and Peasants Republic to People's Republic, thereby endowing the goal of the Party's struggle during the new-democratic revolution with rich national content. Mao Zedong stated, the Party "not only represents workers and peasants, but also represents China's nationalities," and "The majority of the members of the government of the People's Republic are workers and peasants, but it also includes members of other classes who oppose imperialist and feudal forces." This not only makes it possible for the petty bourgeoisie but even the national bourgeoisie to join the anti-Japanese struggle.[94] This also made it possible for the struggle of minority nationalities to overthrow national oppression to unite partly or wholly with the revolution on the foundation of the common interests of the Chinese nation, so that "their struggle can quickly merge with the powerful current of the Soviet's struggle."[95] This thinking on the one hand reflects the strategic decision to form the broadest possible national front to resist the Japanese, and on the other hand reflects the objective of the new-democratic revolution of founding a state. This thinking not only changed the unrealistic political idea of establishing a "Chinese Federal

[92] Stalin (1954), p. 71.

[93] "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the Current Political Situation and the Party's Tasks," *A Collection of Documents on the Problem of Nationalities*, Central Party School Press, Beijing, 1991, p. 332.

[94] Mao Zedong (1991c), pp. 156, 157.

[95] "Supplementary Decision of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee on Its Current Strategies and Policies," *A Collection of Documents on the Problem of Nationalities*, Central Party School Press, Beijing, 1991, p. 312.

Republic," but also embodied an important theoretical breakthrough in the Party's integration of the basic principles of Marxism with China's concrete realities. It was of epochal significance in taking China's concrete realities as the starting point for solving China's nationality question.

The CPC's entirely new thinking on what kind of country to establish clarified the orientation for choosing the path for solving China's nationality question. Mao Zedong's early thinking in favor of self-determination and autonomy of minority nationalities before the founding of the CPC, his active participation in the Hunan autonomy movement, and the advocacy of a federal system by the Communism International after the founding of the CPC led him to refrain from opposing a federal system in his thinking; however, after the Party adopted the goal of establishing a people's republic, the Party's line on nationality work became to unite the country and establish autonomous regions in it where minority nationalities were concentrated. "China must be unified, there can be no victory without unification."[96] Mao Zedong's exposition on the unification of China just outlined was directed to the situation in which domestic factions fighting the war against the Japanese were not united. His strategic thinking on establishing a people's republic was to first unite the country and unite all China's nationalities to fight the Japanese together, and block the machinations of the imperialists who were intensifying their efforts to split China's nationalities. Therefore, he clearly proposed, "Allow the Mongolian, Hui, Tibetan, Miao, Yao, Yi and Fan nationalities to enjoy the same rights the Han nationality enjoys, have the right to manage their own affairs subservient to the principle of common opposition to Japan, and at the same time establish a united country together with the Han nationality."[97] The completeness of the connotation of the concept of the Chinese nation and the unity of a multi-nationality country led the CPC to abandon the dogmatic thinking it had once considered of establishing a Soviet-style federal country and led it to make the historic decision to establish a united people's republic in which minority nationalities would enjoy regional national autonomy in areas where they were concentrated.

At that time, even though the Party's nationality work was subservient to the requirements of the Anti-Japanese War and therefore was concentrated mostly in Inner Mongolia and the Northwest, two articles published under Mao Zedong's name, the "Declaration of the Chinese Soviet Central Government concerning the people of Inner Mongolia" and the "Declaration of the Chinese Soviet Central Government concerning the People of the Hui Nationality," had a widespread influence and played an important guiding role in uniting the people of all China's nationalities in fighting the Japanese. Mao Zedong's thinking and decisions on forming a nationwide united anti-Japanese front in particular contained many new ideas and much new thinking of great importance on how the Party could unite the country and people. In reference to minority nationalities' struggle for liberation in Inner Mongolia and the northwest, he pointedly stated, "Mobilize the Mongolian, the Hui and all other minority nationalities, in accordance with the principle of

[96] Mao Zedong (1991d), p. 576.

[97] Mao Zedong (1991e), p. 595.

national self-determination and autonomy, in the common fight against Japan."[98] At Mao Zedong's suggestion, the thinking on achieving regional national autonomy through national self-determination was first put into practice in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region. National autonomy was a system of self-governance in which minority nationalities administer their own internal affairs under the condition of a united country. Mao Zedong's emphasis on the principle of autonomy was intimately related to his thinking on establishing a united country.

The practice of implementing regional national autonomy in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region was of great exploratory significance for the Party in leading the Inner Mongolia autonomy movement. When victory in the Anti-Japanese War was imminent, Mao Zedong further developed and deepened his thinking on a united country in the Party's Seventh Political Report, in which pointedly stated, "It is imperative to turn a divided China into a united China; such is the historical task of the Chinese people."[99] To achieve this objective, it would be necessary to form a united coalition government and establish a new country on the foundation of all China's nationalities winning freedom and democracy. Therefore, helping the people of all the minority nationalities (including prominent individuals who were in touch with the masses) to obtain political, economic and cultural liberation and freedom necessarily became an urgent task New China faced. "The attitude which the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region and the Liberated Areas in northern China have for years adopted towards the Mongolian and Hui nationalities is correct, and the work they have done has been fruitful."[100] The correct attitude and accomplishments that Mao Zedong pointed out epitomize the principle of national equality and national self-determination that the CPC stands for. This national self-determination is just the right of national autonomy that Mao Zedong always advocated. Self-determination does not mean independence. In a proletarian revolution in a multi-nationality country, the struggle by minority nationalities against national oppression is not only an integral part of the revolution, but is also an important force for creating a united country.

In the course of creating an autonomy movement in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, Mao Zedong not only paid very close attention in his thinking to the direction in which the movement was developing, but also gave very specific guidance to the work of developing it. Mao Zedong's guidelines on upholding united autonomy in Inner Mongolia, his basic principle that minority nationalities should genuinely enjoy autonomy, his firm opposition to the inclination to independent self-rule and his warning to avoid "Left" mistakes in handling nationality matters were abundantly manifested in all of the Party's documents and directives concerning the issue of autonomy in Inner Mongolia. In his deep perceptiveness, Mao Zedong realized that "the conciliatory methods used in the past to try to solve the country's nationality question were unworkable."[101] In addition, the Soviet federal model was not suitable to China's realities. He took China's actual situation as

[98] Mao Zedong (1991f), p. 557.

[99] Mao Zedong (1991g), p. 1071.

[100] *Ibid.,* p. 1084.

[101] Mao Zedong (1991e), p. 595.

his starting point and incorporated national autonomy into the connotation of national self-determination, "Recognize the right to equality and autonomy of the minority nationalities within the borders of China."[102] This was Mao Zedong's historic contribution to solving China's nationality question, as well as a creative development in the integration of Marxist-Leninist theory of national autonomy with the actual situation of China's nationality question. The fact that the system of regional national autonomy was an important aspect of the political system of New China was given creative manifestation in this way. These correct guidelines and principles ensured the healthy development of the Party's leadership of the Inner Mongolia autonomy movement, with the result that the people of Inner Mongolia were able to achieve regional national autonomy before the liberation of the country as a whole.

During the Anti-Japanese War, the people of Inner Mongolia united as one under the leadership of the CPC to fight the enemy, and as a result when the war was over, the Inner Mongolia autonomy movement achieved its goals like a ripe fruit falling from a tree. In November 1945, a reporter from the Shanxi-Qahar-Hebei branch of the Xinhua News Agency interviewed Ulanhu, the leader of the Inner Mongolia autonomy movement. In answering a question concerning the CPC's policies on the Mongolian people, he said, "The CPC's policy on minority nationalities is very clear. It is a policy of national equality and national autonomy. In terms of the form of political organization, it advocates that the Mongolian and Han nationalities as well as other nationalities unite and cooperate closely.… The national autonomy we advocate has one indispensable ingredient, democracy. Without democracy, it is impossible to have genuine autonomy."[103] The autonomy of the past was the autonomy of the noble ruling class, and the autonomy of the present is the autonomy of the masses. Then, Ulanhu addressed the matter of the attempt by some upper-class Mongolians in eastern Inner Mongolia to establish an Eastern Mongolian People's Autonomous Government, and said, "Inner Mongolia is a part of Chinese territory, and the Mongolian people are a part of the Chinese nation. The autonomy they demand is basically the same as the people in the provinces and regions of the rest of China demand, but because the Mongolian people are a nation, it is also a kind of national autonomy."[104] This reflects both the regional and national nature of regional national autonomy. For the Mongolians in Inner Mongolia, the only way for them to achieve at liberation was by means of integrated national and regional autonomy under the leadership of the CPC.

The opening ceremony of the Inner Mongolia People's Congress was held on April 23, 1947. There were 392 people's deputies to the congress from all over Inner Mongolia. This congress passed a number of documents such as the Program for Establishing an Inner Mongolia Autonomous Government, elected members to the Inner Mongolia Interim Assembly and leaders of Inner Mongolia Autonomous Government, and proclaimed the establishment of the Inner

[102] Mao Zedong (1991h), p. 1238.

[103] Ulanhu (1999), pp. 1–2.

[104] "Chairman Yunze's Remarks on the Autonomy of Inner Mongolia," *Shanxi-Qahar-Hebei Daily*, February 22, 1946.

Mongolia Autonomous Region. Mao Zedong and Zhu De sent a congratulatory telegram to the congress, which said, "Our Inner Mongolian compatriots who once endured suffering now begin a bright new chapter in their history under your leadership."[105] The establishment of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region was the result of the CPC finding a Chinese solution to its nationality question by relying on the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, taking China's actual nationality conditions into account, taking China's historical condition of being a multi-nationality country as the foundation, and carrying out theoretical and practical explorations over a long period of time.

In the end, the rejection by the CPC of the Soviet federal system put forth by the Communist International and the implementation of regional national autonomy was not only in accord with Lenin's principle concerning nationalities, "We demand unconditional *equality* for all nations in the state and the unconditional protection of the rights of every national minority. We demand broad self-government and autonomy for regions, which must be demarcated, among other terms of reference, in respect of nationality too."[106] In addition, this position was also in accord with Lenin's adherence to the principle of seeking truth from facts. As shown by his further statement, a social question "refers to a particular country (e.g., the national programme for a given country), that account be taken of the specific features distinguishing that country from others in the same historical epoch."[107] In 1957, Zhou Enlai gave an in-depth exposition of the Soviet federal system and Chinese regional national autonomy, in which he pointed out that the Soviet Union and China had different national conditions and gained power in different ways. He then stated, "Historical development has provided the necessary conditions for cooperation among our nationalities, while revolutionary movements have furnished the economic foundations for it. The system of self-government through regional autonomy which we have adopted since liberation is one which suits the country's social conditions and will help promote that cooperation." He discussed the historical background, national conditions and distribution of nationalities in relation to China's implementation of the system of regional national autonomy, and drew the conclusion concerning the difference in the ways the Soviet Union and China solved their nationality question, "The forms of autonomy in the two countries differ not only in name but also in structure, that is, in substance."[108] With the establishment of the PRC, regional national autonomy became a basic political institution of the PRC and was carried out in all parts of China where minority nationalities were concentrated. The system of regional national autonomy is the product of the Sinification of Marxism and an integral part of socialist system with Chinese characteristics.

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[105] "Chairman Mao and Commander-in-Chief Zhu's Telegram to the Inner Mongolia People's Congress," *A Collection of Documents on the Problem of Nationalities*, Central Party School Press, Beijing, 1991, p. 1127.

[106] Lenin (1963), p. 116.

[107] Lenin (1967), p. 606.

[108] Zhou Enlai (2010), p. 185.

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# Chapter 3
# Practicing the Principle of Nationality Equality and Exercising Regional National Autonomy

*In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end.*

–Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Communist Manifesto: Complete With Seven Rarely Published Prefaces*

*We demand unconditional equality for all nations in the state and the unconditional protection of the rights of every national minority. We demand broad self-government and autonomy for regions, which must be demarcated, among other terms of reference, in respect of nationality too.*

–V. I. Lenin, "Draft Platform for the Fourth Congress of Social-Democrats of the Latvian Area"

*Thus, regional autonomy is an essential element in the solution of the national question.*

–Joseph Stalin, "Marxism and the National Question"

*Historical development has determined that in China, a vast country of many nationalities, autonomy should assume a form different from the one in the Soviet Union. Every country has its own historical characteristics and must not mechanically copy another country's experiment. Regional autonomy is the most suitable pattern of self-government for our nationalities.*

–Zhou Enlai, "Questions Relating to Our Policies toward China's Nationalities"

## 3.1 Identifying Nationalities and Carrying out Democratic Reform

In 1949 the People's Republic of China was founded, and the Chinese people stood up and became masters of their country. If one says that the Revolution of 1911 put an end to the feudal monarchy that lasted for more than 2,000 years, took China across the threshold of establishing a modern country and starting down the path of

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integrating all Chinese people into one Chinese nation, and was the harbinger of the great revival of the Chinese nation, then the founding of New China meant that the Chinese nation took the path of its great revival.

The equality of all nationalities in a united multi-nationality China was one of the most important symbols of the PRC and its new society. Therefore, at the time of the founding of the PRC, the Common Program (in essence an interim Constitution) passed by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Congress composed of people from all sectors of society and all China's nationalities not only declared that the people of all China's nationalities had equal rights, but also stipulated that regional national autonomy would be practiced in all areas where minority nationalities were concentrated, and that all nationalities had the right to develop their native languages and culture and to maintain or reform their customs and religious beliefs, and also mandated that people's governments assist minority nationalities develop in the areas of politics, the economy, culture and education. This set forth the state's responsibility for ensuring the equal rights of minority nationalities and established the basic political system for implementing regional national autonomy under a unified political system for the country.

However, how should China practice national equality and implement the system of regional national autonomy? This was a major question the PRC faced. In the practice of the New-Democratic Revolution the CPC had an overall grasp of the nature of a multi-nationality country and the basic form of China's nationality question, but it still lacked sufficient understanding of the country's multi-nationality situation and the complexity of its nationality question. In 1950, Deng Xiaoping, who then was in charge of work in the Southwest region, said, "On the question of minority nationalities, I am still a pupil."[1] In fact, the whole Party was like that.

In the revolutionary years, the emphasis was on propaganda, mobilizing the minority nationalities to oppose national oppression and join the anti-Japanese resistance, and on incorporating their struggle in great tide of national revolution. The policies and principles of national equality, self-determination and autonomy the CPC advocated at that time were disseminated within some minority nationality areas and minority nationalities and achieved some results, but in fact the extent of the CPC's presence in minority nationality areas was limited. After the founding of the PRC, it was necessary for the basic principles of national unity, sovereignty, territorial integrity and national equality to penetrate to every inch of the People's Republic of China's territory and put every nationality in the position of master of the country as a prerequisite for achieving national equality and implementing the system of regional autonomy.

[1] Deng Xiaoping (1994a), p. 161.

### *3.1.1 The Large Family of the Chinese Nation*

Before the founding of the People's Republic of China, the CPC in theory clarified the conception of a united multi-nationality country, expounded the scientific content of the concept of the Chinese nation, and started down the path of regional national autonomy. Many years earlier, Sun Yat-sen had said, "How can it be that our country has only five nationalities?" Some scholars maintain, "Only those who have a clear and thorough understanding of all the nationalities within China can say they understand our people and set forth the path for the revival of the Chinese nation." Mao Zedong noted that in addition to the Han nationality, China has tens of minority nationalities. In short, "China is a multi-nationality country with an immense population." However, the question of how many members there are in the large family of China's nationalities has not yet been completely answered.

To achieve equality of all nationalities, it is first necessary to specify the list of nationalities, that is, to say who are the members of the large family of nationalities. To implement regional national autonomy, it is necessary to first specify the entities that are to exercise autonomy. In China, these entities are the minority nationalities. Therefore, shortly after the founding of the PRC, the Party and government took sorting out the system of nationalities, taking a survey of their conditions, and distinguishing between nationalities to be an important task that must be carried out to institute a system of regional national autonomy.

In the long course of China's history, the peoples of the five directions at the time of the Qin and Han dynasties and their descendants over the following centuries strode across the stage of history under names they gave themselves or others gave them too numerous to count. As time passed, they evolved, disappeared, merged, migrated or dispersed, playing out a historical pageant alternately inspiring and tragic in which they interacted with, absorbed and assimilated each other. During the course of interaction, absorption, and assimilation, the populous Han nationality and a number of relatively influential minority nationalities gradually became stable and the names for them gradually became unified, for example, the Han, Manchu, Mongolian, Hui and Tibetan, which were singled out in the conception of the republic of the five nationalities. However, as a result of isolation due to natural geographic conditions and restrictions due to the conditions for social development, there were many culturally diverse clan-like groups that were not fully internally integrated. In terms of their language, culture, economic life and customs they had similarities and differences of all gradations such that in some cases it was hard to tell if two groups should count as one nationality or two, and in addition the names they called themselves and others called them were in a state of flux that made identification even more difficult. When Deng Xiaoping was working in the Southwest, he said, "At present we are not certain about the exact number of minority nationalities in the southwest. According to the latest reports from Yunnan, there are more than 70 names of nationalities in that province. It is said that the Miao nationality in Guizhou has over one hundred branches. In fact, some of them do not belong to the Miao nationality. For instance, the Dong people used to be believed to belong

to the Miao nationality, when in fact, the two have different languages and histories and they themselves hate to be lumped together. From this we can see that we do not know the first thing about the subject of minority nationality, let alone a good working knowledge. Of course, after two or three years of work we may gain a clearer understanding of each individual nationality and we may be able to clarify questions that have long remained a mystery."[2]

In short, the tribal groups identified in history as the four Yi, five Rong, six Di, seven Min, eight Man and nine He evolved over the course of thousands of years, and many of them have been identified by several names in extant documents and oral histories and in many cases their name for themselves differs from what others call them. It is all very complex. Therefore, when the Chinese government carried out the first census in 1953, minority people used nearly 400 different names, more than 260 in Yunnan alone, to identify their nationality. When China carried out the second census in 1964, 183 different names were used by respondents to identify their nationality. In some cases, members of the same nationality would call themselves by different names if they were separated by a river or a mountain. Dividing minority nationality people into so many nationalities would mean that many nationalities would have too small a population in too small an area to establish an autonomous administrative region and institute a system of social administration. Therefore, distinguishing nationalities and specifying national identity and group affiliation was an important part of the Chinese government's nationality work.

Beginning in the 1950s, the Chinese government successively organized delegations and goodwill missions to visit minority areas in the Northwest, Southwest, South and Northeast and also Inner Mongolia to publicize the government's nationality policy and do a survey of social conditions there, and also organize delegations of people from the various nationalities to go to Beijing and other parts of the country to learn about the common homeland of all China's nationalities. At the same time, the government organized a large number of scientists, particularly in the fields of anthropology, ethnology, sociology, history and linguistics, to carry out surveys and research on spoken and written languages, society and history of minority nationalities on a large scale throughout the country.

After the modern Western academic disciplines of ethnology and anthropology were introduced into China, they developed quickly due to China's history of cultural diversity and its abundance of cultural resources. A large number of scholars with expertise in both Western and Chinese paleoanthropology, cultural anthropology, ethnology, national history and border governance emerged, and they carried out field surveys of minority nationalities in border areas, as well as Taiwan. The results of these surveys provided valuable resources for the work of distinguishing nationalities after the founding of the People's Republic of China. Between 1956 and 1964, the government organized survey teams having a total of more than 1,400 members that carried out very extensive surveys in all China's minority nationality areas. This was a scientific activity unlike any before, and it provided a rich and

[2] Deng Xiaoping (1994a), p. 162.

important scientific basis for distinguishing China's nationalities and comprehensively doing the country's nationality work.

The work of distinguishing nationalities was done in a spirit of fully respecting their wishes, and it followed the principle of using the names of their language in carrying out the complex work of scientific research. The many minority nationalities that did not have a written language had no written records that could be used for reference, which made the work especially difficult. Therefore the only way to correctly identify groups' origins and their similarities and differences from other groups was to go among them and carry out a comprehensive survey of society, history, language, culture, economic life and customs, and only then was it possible to make a scientific judgment of their national affiliation.

Distinguishing nationalities was not limited to determining their names and clan origins, but also in determining their political position in a spirit of equality. As was stated above, nationalities throughout the world developed their distinctive cultures in light of their geographic and environmental conditions, and those conditions are the source of the political, economic, cultural and social differences between them; and when the human race entered the twentieth century, the historical relics of clans and groups still existed. This is also true of China. The surveys revealed that among China's minority nationalities, there were some whose economic and social life could be classified as hunting and gathering, nomadic herding, and farming; and that they had a diversity of languages, cultures, customs, religious beliefs, population sizes and geographical distribution; but also that they had many different kinds of social forms, and different kinds of social systems that were determined by the degree to which they were divided into classes and the level of development of the productive forces. These social systems included patriarchal systems, tribal chief systems, aristocratic slavery systems, theocratic serf systems and livestock owner feudal systems, and their social forms ranged from primitive communes to feudal societies.

In this complex situation in which minority nationalities coexisted in different levels of social and historical development, should a groups' place in the large family of China's nationalities be determined on the basis of the Soviet Union's distinction between clans, nationalities and socialist nations? Mao Zedong said, "We need to unite with all nationalities, no matter whether they are large or small. For example, the Oroqen nationality has only 2,000 people, and we need to unite with them."[3] China does not distinguish between clans and nationalities. Large and small nationalities are all equal. This is a principle the CPC has always abided by in solving the nationality question.

This protracted large field survey gave the country's minority nationality work an abundance of empirical data and important intellectual support. With the support of scientific surveys and historical documents, the work of distinguishing nationalities successively determined all the nationalities' identity and name, and the final reports were all approved by the State Council. After identifying the Lhoba nationality in Tibet in 1965, the list of China's minority nationalities totaled 54. When the Jino

[3] Cf. Mao Zedong (2008a), p. 102

nationality in Yunnan was identified in 1979, the work of identifying China's nationalities was basically completed.[4] China is a united, multi-nationality socialist country, and the Chinese nation is a large family composed of 56 nationalities including the Han nationality. In this large family, every nationality is equal no matter how large or small it is or what level of economic development it has.

Unquestionably, China's political, economic, cultural and social life was influenced to a greater or lesser extent by the Soviet Union. In the work of distinguishing nationalities, the definition of nationality mainly relied on Stalin's definition. However, in practice, academics and government officials did not rigidly follow the Soviet Union's example. Stalin's definition of state-level nations (нация) is merely a reference standard that applies only to the populous Han nationality and the minority nationalities whose identity is clearly established. In practice, Stalin emphasized that for a group to constitute a nation, its people must share a common language, territory and social life, but in China it was not necessary for a group to have all three to be identified as a nationality. The identification of nationalities in China respected the wishes of the groups involved and what Stalin called "common culture and psychological qualities" (namely cultural identity), and it also attached importance to the historical origins and course of development revealed in ancient documents. Therefore, this work achieved the best results possible under the scientific conditions at that time.

### *3.1.2 Peaceful Liberation and Democratic Reform*

During the New-Democratic Revolution, the revolutionary struggle of China's minority nationalities was directed mainly against imperialism and national oppression, and was not an internal class revolution. In the war of liberation to establish the People's Republic of China, the liberation of areas in which minority nationalities were concentrated inherently involved eliminating class rule, predominantly by Kuomintang reactionaries. This was a necessary condition in People's Republic at the time to establish equality between China's nationalities and for them to be masters of their country. In the war to liberate the whole of China, peaceful liberation was prominently used in liberating minority nationality areas on the country's borders.

After the victory in the Anti-Japanese War in Inner Mongolia, Inner Mongolia was the first to take the path of regional national autonomy, and it peacefully liberated Suiyuan Province in September 1949. In August 1949, the People's Liberation

[4] In the statistics on China's population, there is an entry for people of indeterminate national identity, which suggests that the work of distinguishing China's nationalities has not yet been completed. In fact, the work of determining the national identity of those people is still going on, and the main thrust of that work is to include them in existing nationalities and not to identify any new nationalities. Of course, this is a complex task that requires respecting people's wishes and getting their agreement.

Army (PLA) captured Lanzhou, and went on to liberate Shaanxi, Gansu, Ningxia and Qinghai, and prepared to encircle and annihilate the Kuomintang forces in Xinjiang. Mao Zedong made the policy decision, "Xinjiang is not a war matter but a matter for peaceful liberation." On September 25, Kuomintang troops in Xinjiang rose up in revolt, and the following day the provincial government of Xinjiang announced that it was cutting off all relations with the Kuomintang government in Nanjing, and Xinjiang was peacefully liberated.[5] In November 1949, the PLA wiped out the Kuomintang's force led by General Bai Chongxi. That same month, the PLA entered Guizhou, carried the battle into southern Sichuan, attacked eastern Sichuan and surrounded Chongqing. In this situation, Liu Wenhui and others instigated uprisings in Kunming and Ya'an, Yunnan. Chiang Kai-shek fled to Taiwan on December 10, and the PLA wiped out the Kuomintang's last remaining force on the mainland at Chengdu led by Hu Zongnan. At this point Kuomintang rule of the Chinese mainland was completely over. Hainan Island was liberated in 1950. In January 1950, the CPC Central Committee made the decision for the army to enter Tibet. At the same time it urged the Tibet local government and upper-class patriots to enter into negotiations on peaceful liberation. On May 23, the Seventeen Point Agreement between the Central People's Government and the Tibet Local Government on the Method for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet was signed in Beijing. On May 24, the 14th Dalai Lama sent a telegram to Chairman Mao Zedong expressing that he endorsed the agreement on the peaceful liberation of Tibet. On October 26, troops of the PLA were stationed in Lhasa and began to carry out their sacred mission of safeguarding the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of People's Republic in Tibet.

Whether implementing democratic coalition self-rule in Inner Mongolia or carrying out the peaceful liberation of Xinjiang and Tibet, the CPC had a correct grasp of the national oppression minority nationalities experienced throughout history and the confusion and provocation they experienced at the hands of imperialists in China's modern period, which caused their estrangement. The CPC led all China's nationalities in overthrowing Kuomintang rule and driving out imperialist forces, thereby changing the society in which man exploited man and eliminating national oppression. However, the CPC and the people's army it commanded could not solve the internal problem of class oppression within nationalities for them because the system of national oppression that had been in place throughout much of China's history, the provocations at that time of imperialists and the Han chauvinist policy carried out by the Chiang Kai-shek clique of the Kuomintang created a very serious situation of estrangement of nationalities and lack of trust between them. Therefore, in dealing with matters concerning relations between nationalities, these problems invariably had class oppression concealed within them, with the result that the nationalities' ruling class and upper class were invariably the people who mobilized them and represented their interests. This was an objective fact that the CPC discovered on the Red Army's Long March. Also, the application of Marxist thinking concerning the system of national oppression inexorably led to the realization that

[5] Cf. Li Sheng (2003), p. 222.

it was in substance class oppression. Therefore liberating minority nationality areas by peaceful means not only avoided war that harmed the economies and societies of minority nationality areas and the interests of the masses, but also had the important positive function of eliminating national oppression, improving relations between nationalities, stabilizing social order and safeguarding the interests of minority nationalities.

From the beginning of the great revolution till the war of liberation, the CPC always carried out reform of the land system in revolutionary base areas and also dealt with the system of class oppression particularly in Han nationality areas. The feudal land system was the main reason the peasants were poor and China's agriculture lagged behind. Changing the exploitive feudal land ownership system to a system in which farmers owned the land so that whoever tilled the land owned it was a historic task and basic guiding principle of China's New-Democratic Revolution. After the founding of People's Republic, the feudal land system was in effect in two thirds of China. Landlords and rich peasants were only 7 % of the rural population but held 50 % of the land, and poor peasants and farm laborers, who comprised 57 % of the rural population, held only 14 % of the land, and large numbers of peasants either had too little land or no land at all.[6] Therefore land reform was the broadest and deepest social transformation undertaken to eliminate the exploitive feudal system. The task of land reform was basically completed by the end of 1952, and poor and middle peasants, who comprised 92.1 % of the population held 91.4 % of the arable land. At the same, democratic reform of industrial and mining enterprises and social fields was carried out.

Social transformation in the vast minority nationality areas had different characteristics than in Han nationality areas, so the Central Committee established the policy that changes must be carried out cautiously and steadily. Mao Zedong stated, "Social reforms in their areas are a matter of great importance and must be handled cautiously. On no account must we be impetuous, for impatience will lead to trouble. No reform is to be instituted unless the conditions are ripe. Neither should any major reform be introduced where only one of the conditions is ripe while the others are not."[7] Liu Shaoqi also said, "When working among minority nationalities, one must first understand their specific conditions, and take them as the starting point in determining the orientation of the work there and the actual stages of the work. One must strictly avoid mechanically applying experience and slogans from work done in Han nationality areas, and strictly prevent the application of policies carried out in Han nationality areas by authoritarian means."[8] Deng Xiaoping set forth even more specific requirements concerning minority nationality work in the Southwest, "Because of the past deep estrangement between the minority nationalities and the Han nationality and the complicated nature of the situation, no force from the outside shall be used to wage or create a so-called class struggle within the minority nationalities or attempt to carry out reform of any sort. All reforms within the minor-

[6] Cf. The CPC Central Committee's Party Literature Research Office (2011), pp. 90–91.

[7] Mao Zedong (1987), p. 399.

[8] Liu Shaoqi (2005), p. 220.

ity nationalities should be carried out through internal forces. Reform is necessary, however, for without it the minority nationalities cannot eliminate poverty, which will make it impossible for them to do away with backwardness, but reform must not be carried out until conditions within the minority nationalities are ripe for it."[9] It can readily be seen that the Party and government took a prudent attitude toward the issue of carrying out democratic reforms in minority nationality areas.

Inner Mongolia was the first minority nationality area to carry out land reform. In light of the fact that after the Ming and Qing dynasties the area of Inner Mongolia devoted to farming steadily increased, rural land reform was divided into three types for farming land, mixed farming and herding land, and herding land. Therefore in 1948, "the task of the reform in Inner Mongolia was to oppose imperialism and feudalism just as it was in the rest of China; however, the tactics adopted and the steps by which the reform was carried out should be somewhat different due to the level of Inner Mongolia's economic and social development and the class relations within Inner Mongolian society." The main content of the reform consisted of: eliminating all political and economic privileges of feudal classes including exemption from the burden of civic duties, compulsory corvée and performing uncompensated labor; implementing freedom of religious belief and not allowing lamas to enjoy privileges other than those all citizens enjoy; eliminating the slave system, proclaiming that all slaves are emancipated and are forever free of all relations with their former slave owners, and they are entirely equal to other citizens; eliminating all debts of townships and townships except those concerning business transactions; permitting freedom of grazing in pastoral areas and delineating free grazing areas in league and banner administrative areas; instituting the policy in farming areas that whoever tills the soil possesses it, taking all lands owned by feudal landlords and turning them into public lands, and distributing them along with other land of the townships and townships in a unified way in proportion to population; and allotting land to members of the Mongolian, Han and other nationalities on an equal basis and according their equal land use rights.

In the course of implementing these reforms, some missteps were made, such as dividing pastoral areas equally into livestock and grazing areas and carrying out reforms in mixed farming and herding areas on the basis of farming reforms, and making class distinctions arbitrarily instead of on the basis of actual economic conditions, which resulted in serious disputes and extreme reactions such as destroying temples; but all these problems were quickly corrected and the Party adopted the position of "eliminating feudal privileges, appropriately raising pay for herding work, improving the grazing system, gradually developing the herding industry while giving consideration to the interests of both herd owners and herders, and improving the lives of herders." Except for confiscating the herds and property of the Mongolian traitors who had committed the worst crimes, the Party did not divide the wealth of herd owners or denounce them.[10] On this basis the Three No's and Two Interests policy was established, namely not dividing the wealth of herd owners,

[9] Deng Xiaoping (1994a), p. 164.

[10] Ulanhu (1999a), pp. 88–93.

denouncing them or giving them class labels, and respecting the interests of both herd owners and herders.

The experience gained in reform of pastoral areas in Inner Mongolia was of great value in carrying out reform in the herding areas of other minority nationalities. In 1952, "The CPC decided to implement the policy of respecting the interests of both herd owners and herders in pastoral areas of the lands of other minority nationalities, and at the same time gradually eliminated the feudal privileges of herd owners, encouraged the enthusiasm for production of herdsmen in order to develop the herding economy."[11] Because the economic and social conditions of different minority nationalities differed greatly, the methods of carrying out democratic social reforms differed for different minority nationalities. In societies in which class oppression was onerous and class distinctions were very strict, it was necessary to patiently and meticulously enlighten the masses, gradually eliminate the slave and serf systems that bound slaves and serfs to their masters, combine direct struggle with negotiation, and eliminate privileges and torture. In a number of minority nationalities with small populations, the course of reform basically involved improving living conditions, supporting the development of production, getting people settled in permanent housing, and eliminating endemic diseases. In cities and rural areas where Han people predominated, reforms were carried out to change people's habits, but in minority nationality areas, care was taken to respect customs while education and medical and health care were employed to gradually change practices that were not beneficial to economic activities, social life and good health. These changes were always accompanied by adjusting relations within the group and establishing a new kind of relation within it based on mutual trust and assistance, unity and cooperation. The key to success in carrying out democratic reforms was doing the work concerning the upper class well.

### *3.1.3 The United Front and the Upper Class of Minority Nationalities*

The united front was a very powerful instrument the CPC created during the Anti-Japanese War, and it gained valuable experience concerning it in winning the New-Democratic Revolution. After the founding of People's Republic, the united front continued to provide the link that united all China's nationalities, classes and sectors of society, and it created a platform for political consultation, democratic oversight and participating in government through the establishment of the state system of political consultative conferences. In the course of carrying out democratic reforms in minority nationality areas, the united front was also an important policy for eliminating the estrangement of nationalities and strengthening unity and achieving cooperation between them.

[11] The CPC Central Committee's Party Literature Research Office (2011), p. 144.

In the course of implementing and carrying out democratic reforms of minority nationalities, establishing mutual trust between them, especially between their members, was the mass foundation for smoothly carrying out the reforms, but drawing as many people as possible from the ruling class, including religious leaders, into united front was the key to success. The national and religious leaders of the highest rank were slave owners, lords, princes and nobility, and those of lower rank were officials, chieftains and clan leaders. These rulers, who represented all kinds of pre-capitalist forms of society, occupied positions of authority in their social systems and had also experienced oppression under imperialists and the Kuomintang government. Therefore, their attitude toward the process of democratic reform and socialist transformation in People's Republic had two sides to it. On the one hand they expressed support for the policy of equality of all nationalities (even if they had reservations about it), and on the other hand they were concerned to maintain their power and safeguard their interests. In addition, in areas in which all members of a minority nationality believed the same religion, the religious upper class (including religious leaders in theocracies who also exercised political power) also enjoyed social position and power that had a great effect on the masses. The ruling classes that exercised political and psychological control over the masses in minority nationality areas not only exercised a high degree of domination and influence over the local masses, but also played the role of representing the interests of their nationality.

Therefore, in doing its nationality and religious work, the Party always had to deal with those in positions of power and influence to get anything done. If the Party tried to circumvent the upper class or force through reforms by extreme methods such as struggling with landlords and redistributing the land, it would either fail outright or create difficulties for itself that would be very hard to eliminate in the future. Concerning problems of this sort, Deng Xiaoping said, "Some of our comrades are wont to take radical measures, thinking they can do better without the help of people from the upper strata. As a matter of fact, they will not be able to do a better job but a worse job; they will not be able to do things more rapidly but more slowly, for they will meet with obstinate resistance. If our work among the upper strata is done well, so that they keep making progress and fully co-operating with us, then with their help we can do our work more smoothly. Some comrades are worried that if they do it this way, they might lose their class stand, not understanding that class stand is manifested differently there. What is the correct class stand? It is at present not launching class struggle, instead achieving unity among the nationalities. That is the correct class stand."[12] Therefore, in carrying out both nationality and religious reforms, the Party had to deal with the ruling class, and persuade and mobilize them to cast off the old system of governance, and maintain the reasonable privileges they enjoyed while eliminating the exploitive system and feudal privileges. At the same time it identified patriotic progressive individuals in the ruling class and placed them in ruling positions from which they participated in political affairs on a national and local level.

[12] Deng Xiaoping (1994a), p. 169.

The CPC Central Committee not only attached great importance to democratic reform and social transformation in minority nationality areas, but also many of its members personally participated in the work of communicating with the members of the upper class, public figures and ordinary people of minority nationalities. In the 15 years between 1949 and 1964, Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De and other Party and government leaders met with 268 minority nationality delegations of various sorts that had a total of more than 10,000 delegates.[13] Concerning the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama, who were the highest honorary leaders of the Tibetan theocracy after the peaceful liberation of Tibet, Mao Zedong not only carried on written correspondence with them, but also met with them in person. The Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama attended the first session of the NPC in Beijing in 1954. The Dalai Lama was elected vice president of the Standing Committee of the NPC and the Panchen Lama was elected member of the Standing Committee. Leading figures from the ruling class of other minority nationalities were accorded similar treatment in national and local people's congresses and committees of the CPPCC, governments at all levels and all sorts of people's organizations.

Of course, in the course of implementing democratic reforms and social transformation, there were also some upper class forces that stubbornly resisted social change and did all they could to preserve their ruling power. They even went so far as to incite and coerce the masses to launch armed rebellions and cultivate ethnic separatism. It was necessary to carry out a firm struggle and strike hard against this phenomenon. Unquestionably, this response was necessary to maintain the equality of the minority nationalities in People's Republic, safeguard the common interests of the Chinese nation, establish unity and cooperation between all nationalities, and achieve their common development.

### *3.1.4 Training a Cohort of Minority Nationality Cadres*

Early Chinese Marxists spread the revolutionary thinking of the New Culture among China's minority nationalities. In 1913, the Nationalist government established the Mongolian and Tibetan School in Beijing, and Li Dazhao, Deng Zhongxia and others devoted considerable attention to it. During the May 4th Movement in 1919, students from the Mongolian and Tibetan School went into the streets to join in this great patriotic movement. In 1923, several tens of students at the school from Tumd Banner became the first group of Mongolians to join the CPC. During the period of cooperation between the Kuomintang and the CPC, the Whampoa Military Academy trained a number of Communist revolutionaries from minority nationalities. These developments are directly related to the fact that since the founding of the CPC, solving the nationality question was one of the elements of its political program. During the Red Army's Long March, the Party and army constantly recruiting members of minority nationalities to join the revolution, and established the Yan'an University for Nationalities in September 1941.

[13] Cf. *Minority Nationalities in China,* People's Publishing House, Beijing, 1984, p. 14.

The establishment of the Yan'an University for Nationalities reflected that the CPC practiced the strategic principle of equality between nationalities, resisting Japanese imperialist aggression together and building a people's republic together. In giving instructions concerning work in Qinghai in 1949, Mao Zedong said, "It is necessary to thoroughly solve the nationality question and completely isolate the reactionary nationality clique. It will be impossible to do this without a large number of CPC cadres from minority nationalities."[14] At that time the students at the Yan'an Universities for Nationalities came from Miao, Tibetan and Yi nationalities in Guizhou and Sichuan, Mongolian and Han nationalities in western Inner Mongolia, and the Hui nationality in the Northwest and Northeast. At the Yan'an University for Nationalities, these students immersed themselves in Marxism, raised their cultural level and strengthened their sense of the Chinese nation, and when they left the university they played an important role in the War of Liberation and in the country's nationality work after the founding of the PRC. After the establishment of the PRC, the experience learned in running this school became an integral part of the state education system.

In November 1950, the 60th meeting of the Government Administration Council approved the Pilot Program for Training Minority Nationality Cadres, which stated that to meet the requirements of nation building, instituting regional national autonomy, and carrying out the Common Program and the policy on nationalities, the central government and relevant provincial and county governments shall train a large number of minority nationality cadres in accordance with the education principles of New Democracy. It made the decision to establish the Central Institute for Nationalities in Beijing and branches of it in the Northwest, Southwest and South. In addition, all relevant commissioner districts and counties should arrange temporary training courses for minority cadres on the basis of the need for them and their ability to teach them. All relevant people's governments at all levels should bring existing elementary and secondary schools for minority students up to standard and establish new schools as necessary in a planned and step-by-step manner, and also bring colleges for them up to standard. The Central Institute for Nationalities was established in Beijing on the basis of this decision in 1951, and at the same time branches of it were established in the Northwest, Southwest and South. After that, nationality institutes were established in many other places that together constituted a nationality education system focused on minority nationalities.

By the end of 1954, the Central Institute of Nationalities and its seven satellite campuses in the Northwest, Southwest, South, Yunnan, Guizhou, Guangxi and Guangdong had already graduated 11,000 minority students, who constituted a minority nationality backbone force after the founding of the PRC. As a result of the work of the central and local governments in supporting these schools and teaching training courses, the ranks of minority cadres constantly swelled, till they reached 140,000 in 1954.[15] In 1956, Zhou Enlai addressed the issue of training minority

[14] Mao Zedong, "Telegram on Recruiting and Training Large Numbers of Minority Nationality Cadres," *Works of Mao Zedong since the Founding of the People's Republic of China,* Vol. I., p. 138.

[15] Cf. The CPC Central Committee's Party Literature Research Office (2011), p. 144.

cadres and said, "At present there are eight institutes of nationalities in China, and Gansu, Guangxi and Xinjiang all have one. However, we feel this number is not enough. The ones we have are not enough for our country's minority population of more than 30 million, so we will establish more. Our country's minority nationality areas practice autonomy. Bodies of autonomous governments should principally be staffed by minority cadres, but they can't be run well relying solely on minority cadres. Operating more schools for minorities will raise the level of minority cadres."[16]

Minority cadres are not only an indication that minority nationalities are masters of their own home, but also a bridge between the Party and the masses of their nationalities. Especially in carrying out democratic reforms, minority cadres play an irreplaceable role in publicizing the Party's policies, connecting with and mobilizing the masses, and communicating with public figures in the upper class of their nationality. For example, in the work of decreasing rent and carrying out land reform in Xinjiang, the Central Committee clearly stated, "The most important aspect of the preparatory work, except for ordinary publicity concerning decreasing rents, is to carry out large-scale training of minority cadres. We must train thousands of cadres from all the nationalities affected so they understand our policy and the specific methods for organizing peasants and decreasing rents, and only after they organize the masses of peasants can we begin to actually decrease rents. Otherwise it will be impossible."[17] Training and turning out large numbers of minority cadres and skilled people of all kinds is a basic element of the CPC's policy on nationalities.

Democratic reform and the social transformation that followed it were a process formulated and improved on the basis of the CPC's policy on nationalities. The transformation of the Party's thinking about nationality policy based on the standpoint of equality between all nationalities during the new democratic period into established, effective policy practice was carried out on a case-by-case basis of significant practice as discussed above. Policy is not groundless imagination or wishful thinking; rather it is the result of overall planning and deep thought concerning objective law, the unique characteristics of every stage, the objective targeted and the expected outcomes on the foundation of the integration of theory and practice.

## 3.2 Nationality Policy and Equal Rights for Minority Nationalities

This policy is the result of giving the will of the people conceptual formulation and concrete significance and putting it into practice. It embodies the political thinking, people's interests, legal spirit, limitations of powers and protection of rights implicit in the will of the people, and it is the guiding principle and code of conduct for all areas of work concerning society. China is a united multi-nationality country, and

[16] Zhou Enlai (2010a), p. 145.

[17] "The Directive of the CPC Central Committee on the Xinjiang People's Democratic Alliance and Xinjiang's Rent Reduction and Land Reform," *ibid.*, p. 58.

nationality work is a major matter that affects the Party and country as a whole. The declaration of the fundamental law of the country, "All China's nationalities are equal" is a Constitutional principle that guides nationality affairs and is the basic standpoint for formulating nationality policy.

During the New-Democratic Revolution period, the CPC's political program for solving the nationality question adopted the policy that "all nationalities are equal." Therefore, in criticizing Sun Yat-sen's thinking on nationalities, Mao Zedong said, "In 1924 Dr. Sun Yat-sen wrote in the Manifesto of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang that 'the Kuomintang's Principle of Nationalism has a twofold meaning, first, the liberation of the Chinese nation, and second, the equality of all the nationalities in China.… The Communist Party of China is in full agreement with Dr. Sun's policy on nationalities as stated here. Communists must actively help the people of all the minority nationalities to fight for it, and help them, including all their leaders who have ties with the masses, to fight for their political, economic and cultural emancipation and development and to establish their own armies which will safeguard the people's interests. Their spoken and written languages, their manners and customs and their religious beliefs must be respected."[18] Therefore, the equality of all the nationalities in China was the basic starting point for implementing regional national autonomy and formulating all policies on nationality.

### *3.2.1 Political Equality*

The equality of all members of the family of China's nationalities is first and foremost political equality. Taking the actual conditions of China being a multi-nationality country, China's differentiating its nationalities and endowing the people of all nationalities with the status accorded to them by law is an acknowledgement of the equality of nationalities. The liberation of Chinese nationalities is first and foremost political liberation, that is, achieving the goals of the New-Democratic Revolution, establishing an independent People's Republic of China, and eliminating the system of class oppression and the system of oppression of nationalities is the foundation for political liberation and also a precondition for achieving the equalities of nationalities. When we say that nationalities are their own masters, first and foremost they are political masters, and eliminating systems of internal class rule within nationalities is a precondition for becoming their own masters.

In a united multi-nationality country, the political liberation of all nationalities means participating in the governance of the country on an equal basis. This is the

[18] Mao Zedong (1991), p. 1084. Mao Zedong did not agree with Sun Yat-sen's thinking on nationalities in terms of tribe and nation, and in this essay he criticized Chiang Kai-shek's viewpoint in *China's Destin* saying, "The anti-popular clique of the Kuomintang denies that many nationalities exist in China, and labels all excepting the Han nationality as 'tribes'. … These are manifestations of a wrong Han-chauvinistic ideology and policy." Mao Zedong's affirmation of Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People was made with respect to the lowest level of the CPC's program for establishing a New-Democratic united country.

democratic political meaning of being one's own master. As for minority nationalities, it means equality with the Han nationality. Therefore, during the new-democratic revolution period the CPC always gave primacy to achieving political equality in its nationality work. In its practice of autonomy in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region, the CPC formulated the basic policy: "On the basis of the policy of the equality of nationalities, achieve the equal political, economic and cultural rights of members of the Mongolian, Hui and Han nationalities, establish Mongolian and Hui nationality autonomous regions, and respect the religious beliefs and customs of the Mongolian and Hui people."[19] Before the founding of People's Republic, the advocacy of this policy on nationalities had already given shape to specific work principles and policies; however, because the general problem of the national liberation of people of all China's nationalities had not yet been solved, the scope of this policy thinking and institutional implementation was limited, and state still lacked the capability to support them. However, these work principles and policies laid the foundation for the country's system of nationality policies after the founding of People's Republic. The Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Congress, which served as an interim constitution when the PRC was just founded contains the following expressions of the policy on nationalities, "All nationalities within the borders of the People's Republic of China are equal," "Areas where people of minority nationalities are concentrated shall implement regional national autonomy," all minority nationalities "have the right to join the PLA and organize local people's public security forces in accordance with the uniform state military system," and "all minority nationalities have the freedom to develop their written and spoken languages and maintain or change their customs and religious beliefs." After the establishment of People's Republic, these basic policy standpoints and ideas were incorporated in people's congresses at all levels in the course of implementing democracy in China. At that time the conditions did not exist to carry out a nationwide national election for people's congresses, so it was decided local people's congresses would be constituted in a step-by-step manner by a plenary session of the CPPCC together with local authorities as the system of people's congresses was gradually developed. In January 1953, the central people's government decided to carry out a nationwide general election to form primary-level people's congresses and establish the NPC on this foundation. The state promulgated the Election Law of the People's Republic of China for Electing the National People's Congress and Local People's Congresses at All Levels. When Deng Xiaoping reported on the draft of this election law, he pointedly gave an explanation concerning the election of deputies from minority nationalities, "The population of all China's minority nationalities is one fortieth of China's population. The draft stipulates that the number of minority nationality deputies to the NPC is 150, and in addition to this fixed number if any members of minority nationalities are elected to the NPC through the election process, they will not be counted in this number. So it is estimated that the number of minority nationality deputies to the NPC will in fact be close to one seventh of the total. We believe that the number

[19] "Administrative Program of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region," *A Collection of Documents on the Problem of Nationalities*, Central Party School Press, Beijing, 1991, p. 678.

stipulated here is reasonable. The number of minority nationality deputies to local people's congresses shall be determined in the same spirit."[20] The NPC is one of China's basic political systems and also the country's highest organ of power. When the NPC was first established, these provisions that enabled minority nationality deputies to widely participate in government affairs and play the role of masters of the country prominently manifested the equality of all minority nationalities and the political position of minority nationalities as masters of the country.

At the same time, the CPC established the system of regional national autonomy, which is also one of China's basic political systems. Regional national autonomy of minority nationalities is a fulfillment of the country's basic political system and the exercise of equal political rights. As Liu Shaoqi pointed out, "We firmly believe that only by enabling the minority nationalities to take an active part in the political activities of the entire country, granting them, in accordance with the principle of national regional autonomy, the right to be their own masters and to administer their internal affairs, can the barriers and discrimination among the nationalities, inherited from the past, be broken down and ties of mutual trust and unity be progressively strengthened."[21] China is a multi-nationality socialist country led by the CPC. China's nationalities themselves do not have political power in the country. The CPC is the vanguard of the Chinese nation and represents the Chinese nation's basic interests. Members of minority nationalities exercise their political rights of holding office and participating in political affairs, democratic consultation and democratic oversight in a variety of ways such as being members of the CPC or democratic parties, being elected people's deputies or members of the CPPCC.

The heads of government of national autonomous areas at all levels are all members of the local minority nationality. The Party and government make a great effort to train minority cadres (including professional and technical personnel) in all areas and strive to have the proportion of minority nationality deputies to the NPC and people's congresses at all levels exceed their proportion in the population. They do this to ensure that minority nationalities can play their role as masters of the country, exercise their equal political rights to manage the internal affairs of their nationality in their autonomous areas and manage the affairs of their region together with the people of all nationalities in the region, so that every nationality and locality makes its contribution along with the people of all China's nationalities to achieving the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

### *3.2.2 Economic Development*

Most minority nationality areas are along China's borders, and their natural, geographical and ecological environments all differ widely, are constrained by a variety of pre-capitalist capitalist relations, and have different levels of economic and social

[20] Deng Xiaoping (1994b), p. 87.

[21] Liu Shaoqi (2010), p. 118.

development and methods of production, and in general there are great economic disparities between them and Han nationality areas. When the CPC was first founded, helping minority nationality areas develop their productive forces was written into CPC's program on the nationality question. After the founding of New China, in the course of distinguishing nationalities, carrying out democratic reform and implementing regional national autonomy, the Party and government made supporting minority nationalities' economic development an important aspect of their work, and they made it a part of their agenda and did everything possible to give this support.

Documents concerning nationality affairs from shortly after the founding of the PRC reveal that all of the CPC's important leaders frequently discussed how to support and help minority nationality areas revive and develop their economy, and these documents show that these leaders attached great importance to developing the economy of minority areas and had great concern for improving the living and working conditions of the minority nationalities. In addition, they paid attention to and resolved a great number of detailed concrete matters. For example, in 1950, Xinjiang had insufficient supplies of daily necessities and bought some from abroad. However, the problem was solved with the support of the country's interior and Xinjiang wanted to return the goods. Zhou Enlai said, "I think this small sum of foreign currency is not very significant. We should buy the goods back. If there are more goods, they will be a little cheaper, so the people of Xinjiang can use a little more. The state can give Xinjiang a little more foreign currency."

In supporting the development of minority nationality areas, from right after liberation the state used a variety of means such as promoting trade, reducing or exempting taxes, giving subsidies, providing relief, carrying out industrial and commercial transformation, supporting handicraft industries, and supporting the production of specialty products needed by minority nationalities in order to adjust the economic life of minority nationality areas and improve the masses' living and working conditions. The state also instituted a supply system for minority nationalities that had small populations or hunter-gatherer economic systems. It improved their quality of life by giving hunters guns and ammunition, giving those in need food and daily necessities, providing housing for nomads to settle down, and gave many of them work as forest rangers. In minority nationality areas the state used the methods of promoting trade, buying specialty products the people produced, and supplying needed products to stimulate the vitality and development of economic exchanges. In this work, the state followed the policy of not only not exploiting minority nationalities, but also not engaging in equal trade, but rather providing subsidies and support, so that minority nationality people benefited most so as to counter the adverse effects profiteering merchants in the old society had on nationality relations.[22]

The system of exploitation was eliminated, all kinds of feudal privileges were abolished, and the old production relations, including the Three No's and Two Interests policy, were changed through democratic reforms, all of which made an important contribution to economic development and the improvement of people's

[22] Zhou Enlai (2010b), p. 55.

lives, but did not change the economic foundation that caused these areas to lag behind economically. Therefore, when the central government drew up the First Five-Year Plan in 1952, it put forth a requirement concerning the development of minority nationality areas and specified, "The development of minority nationality economies should focus on agriculture, herding, trade and communications, and minority nationalities with unique economic and social conditions can focus on sideline industries such as fishing, hunting, forestry and handicrafts. In all minority nationality areas trade shall be carried out on the basis of exchange of equal value; for a period of time subsidies may be given to greatly advance trade work, and co-ops shall also be developed. Except in areas where there are railroads, highways shall be gradually built in minority nationality areas, and important roads and bridges shall be repaired. Also, emphasis can be placed on building postal, telegraph and telephone installations. In addition to major industrial and mining enterprises selected by the state, industries that produce articles people need and are directly related to developing people's production shall be developed on various scales in minority nationality areas."[23] The general requirement was to satisfy the needs and wishes of minority nationalities, while giving full consideration to the characteristics and different conditions of all the minority nationalities so as to effectively accomplish all aspects of the development work in minority nationality areas.

In the course of implementing the First Five-Year Plan, a series of important construction projects were carried out in minority nationality areas, such as planning for the construction of eight new railroad trunk lines, five of which were in minority nationality areas or connected them with the rest of the country – including the Lanxin Railroad connecting Lanzhou and Xinjiang, the Baocheng Railroad connecting the Northwest with the Southwest, and the Ji'er Line connecting Jining and Erlian in Inner Mongolia. The construction of the Kangzang and Qingzang highways were the most difficult highway construction projects, and they completely changed the longstanding situation of poor transport links between Tibet and the rest of China. By the end of 1957, there were 5,400 km of rail lines and more than 60,000 km of highways in minority nationality areas. At the same time, the construction of a number of large industrial and mining enterprises was begun in minority nationality areas, such as Baotou Iron and Steel, the Xinjiang Nonferrous Metals Industry and the Karamay Oilfield, and they were all completed in this period.[24] The construction of this infrastructure and these industrial and mining enterprises greatly improved the economic structure and increased the development capability of minority nationality areas and spurred the development of other undertakings.

[23] "Directive of the CPC Central Committee on Stressing Development of Minority Nationality Areas in the Formulation of the Five-Year National Development Plan," the CPC Central Committee's Party Literature Research Office and the CPC Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Regional Committee (eds.), *Selected Working Documents of Xinjiang* (1949–2010), Central Party Literature Publishing House, Beijing, 2010, p. 95.

[24] *Work Related to Nationalities in Contemporary China*, *Contemporary China* Series Editorial Office, Contemporary China Publishing House, 1993, Vol. I, p. 121.

In 1955, the Central Committee began to institute subsidies and set up special funds for minority nationality areas to strengthen their financial capability.

In the area of economic development, the Party and government increased investment and support in minority nationality areas within the bounds of the country's capabilities at the time, and also constantly educated Han nationality cadres to fully understand that the state's contributions and support to minority nationality areas was based on their covering a vast expanse but having poor material conditions.

### *3.2.3 Cultural Prosperity*

Respecting and developing the cultures of minority nationalities was always an important aspect of the CPC's political program for solving the nationality question, and it placed particular emphasis on the use and development of minority nationality oral and written languages. The requirements set forth in the First Five-Year Plan concerning developing the cultural undertakings of minority nationalities stressed developing all kinds of schools, promoting adult education and eliminating illiteracy. This included using TV and projectors in education, stimulating the publication of books in minority nationality languages, building broadcast facilities, and carrying out artistic and sports activities. In this area, the Party and government not only required Han nationality cadres working in minority nationality areas to study the local language in light of the principle of respecting the languages of minority nationalities, but also adopted a plan to help minority nationalities that had no written language to develop one in order to facilitate education of the minority nationalities and promote the use and transmission of those languages.[25] On the basis of providing assistance to those who freely chose to accept it, linguists helped 12 minority nationalities – Zhuang, Buyi, Yi, Miao, Hani, Lisu, Naxi, Dong, Wa, Li, Jingpo and Tu – create 16 kinds of written languages.[26] They were all were put into trial use with the approval of the State Council.

At the same time, the government carried out a survey of the oral and written languages and also the society and history of minority nationalities, which in fact served as the basis for a comprehensive cultural survey of minority nationalities. The results of this survey accumulated a large quantity of firsthand resources and folk documents for research in the history, language, culture, society, politics and customs of minority nationalities. This provided the foundation for the sound development of nationality research in China. From early on, a number of scientific cultural research bodies at both central and local levels made important contributions to preserving and developing minority nationality culture.

Several series of books – *Brief Record of Minority Nationality Languages, Brief History of Minority Nationalities, Short History of Minority Nationalities,* and

[25] Zhou Enlai (2010a), p. 144.

[26] The 16 written languages include in some cases more than one for different branches of the same minority nationality living in different areas.

*Compilation of Resources from Surveys of Minority Nationalities' Society and History* – were the first set of results of this ethnographic research published in New China. Altogether more than 3,000 people participated in the research and compilation work, which took over 20 years to complete and resulted in the publication of 401 books of 338 kinds. In addition, TV documentaries were made of the social and cultural activities of a number of minority nationalities that recorded unique aspects of their social life and culture at that time. Writing a record of every language and a history of every minority nationality was an important manifestation of the CPC's policy that all nationalities are equal.

### *3.2.4 Social Security*

Under the conditions prevailing at that time, social security mainly consisted of the following:

First, building basic public service facilities, particularly medical and health facilities. In the First Five-Year Plan the development of minority nationality societies emphasized improving the conditions for survival, gradually building hospitals and clinics in central areas and areas with a concentrated population, and placing medical teams and epidemic prevention stations in rural areas. One of the most outstanding problems in minority nationality areas was that they were remote, lacked medical facilities, and had poor public health conditions, and endemic diseases were widespread.

Second, meeting the demand of minority nationalities for basic necessities as well as special products they used in daily living and production through trade and marketing. This was an important condition for respecting the customs of minority nationalities.

Third, respecting the religious beliefs of minority nationalities and genuinely implementing the policy of respecting the right of religious belief. Especially in the course of democratic reform, when eliminating the privileges of monasteries and monks and guiding and encouraging monks and other clerical people to work and live off the wages of their work, it was important to stress that this did not mean abolishing religion or destroying temples and that Han and minority nationality cadres could not go to the extreme of viewing religion as a kind of feudal superstition and a kind of practice that had to be abolished. Zhou Enlai said, "Han people need to first respect the religious beliefs of minority nationalities. How can you abolish religion? In minority nationalities in which everyone believes the same religion, religion is more important to them than family or society. China's policy of freedom of religious belief is genuinely being implemented. We should make it a custom that those who do not believe in religion should respect those who do, and those who do should respect those who do not, and we should all live together in harmony and unity."[27]

[27] Zhou Enlai (2010a), p. 145.

Fourth, throughout the whole of society eliminate the traces of ethnic discrimination and humiliation emblematic of the old society, and create a new social atmosphere and relations based on mutual respect between minority nationalities, uniting and working together, and living together in harmony. This included eliminating disparaging names for members of minority nationalities as well as place names and road manes that existed or were used in society, including disparaging steles and couplets over doorways. Disparaging names should be replaced by more appropriate ones and disparaging signs should be taken down and packed away. In addition, works of art and education materials should be examined and inappropriate content should be changed or excised.[28]

In addition, using methods tailored to each minority nationality, work was begun on formulating policies to increase the number of young people of minority nationalities attending school and encouraging the minority nationalities to increase their populations. The goal of these policies and measures was to create a social environment conducive to equality between and unity of nationalities and provide social assurances for nationalities to create a new kind of nationality relations. This was a necessary condition for eliminating two kinds of nationalism that were widespread throughout society, and it permeated relations between nationalities, work concerning nationalities and democratic reforms.

### *3.2.5 Opposing Two Kinds of Nationalism*

Nationalism is a very complex kind of ideology and practical movement. It is a typical ideology that is generally believed to have originated in the French revolution. Classical Marxist authors do not deny the role of nationalism in ancient history, but they mainly focus on nationalism in the Industrial Revolution and the period of nation-states, as well as on how to eliminate the remnants and influence of two kinds of nationalism (big-nation chauvinism and local national chauvinism) in the relations between nationalities in a multi-nationality country after the proletariat seizes power.

"Bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism – these are the two irreconcilably hostile slogans that correspond to the two great class camps throughout the capitalist world, and express the two policies (nay, the two world outlooks) in the national question."[29] Therefore, "Marxism cannot be reconciled with nationalism, be it even of the 'most just', 'purest', most refined and civilized brand. In place of all forms of nationalism Marxism advances internationalism, the amalgamation of all nations in the higher unity."[30] Stalin maintains, "Nationalism is the last position from which the bourgeoisie must be driven in order to vanquish it

[28] Zhou Enlai (2010c), p. 66.

[29] Lenin (1971), p. 14.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

completely."[31] This is the basic attitude of classic Marxist authors toward the phenomenon of nationalism.

Classical Marxist authors affirm the positive role of nationalism in the historic advance in which capitalism supplanted feudalism, and also encourage the proletarian class to draw upon and support the nationalism movement of the capitalist class in colonial or semi-colonial countries because within the movement opposed to colonial rule, "The bourgeois nationalism of any oppressed nation has a general democratic content that is directed against oppression, and it is this content that we unconditionally support."[32] This is a necessary condition for opposing national oppression. This is the basis for modern China viewing Sun Yat-sen's nationalism as the representative of Eastern nationalism at the beginning of the twentieth century. However, taking the political goals of the proletarian revolution and the Communism International as their starting point, classical Marxist authors oppose any manifestation of nationalism, including pan-nationalism.

Concerning multi-nationality countries, Lenin thinks that "an abstract presentation of the question of nationalism in general is of no use at all. A distinction must necessarily be made between the nationalism of an oppressor nation and that of an oppressed nation, the nationalism of a big nation and that of a small nation."[33] The distinction between two kinds of nationalism is also his basic point-of-view of concerning eliminating the remnants and influence of capitalist nationalism. Lenin believed that Great Russian Tsarism was the mortal enemy of the proletarian unity of all Russia's nationalities and he must first fight a battle to the death with this kind of big-nation chauvinism. Non-Russian nationalism always opposed and defended itself against this kind of big-nation chauvinism. Opposing big-nation chauvinism was a precondition for eliminating local (narrow) nationalism.

There is very little mention of nationalism in the early writings of the CPC; however, after the founding of New China and especially after nationality work was in full swing, Party leaders paid close attention to the problem of opposing these two kinds of nationalism, particularly Han chauvinism. In carrying out democratic reforms especially, manifestations of them were everywhere and the problem of Han chauvinism was particularly acute. Liu Shaoqi summarized the situation, saying, Some people, even cadres, of the Han nationality still have vestiges of Han chauvinism in their thinking – showing no respect for the customs or ways of the minority nationalities and their spoken and written languages; refusing to acknowledge their freedom of religious belief and right to administer their internal affairs; even though working in their areas, showing no respect for cadres from among the minority nationalities, neglecting to consult them about work, disbelieving that, through practical work, they will be able to improve their ability to handle various matters; and so on. There is no doubt that these Han chauvinistic views and deeds will jeopardize the unity of the nationalities. This is impermissible under our state

[31] Stalin (1953), p. 93.

[32] V. I. Lenin, "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination," *Marxism and Nationalism*, Resistance Books, p. 92.

[33] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, Vol. 36, p. 607.

system. The people and cadres of the Han nationality must constantly try to overcome Han chauvinism. On the other hand, among the minority nationalities there is a kind of local nationalistic outlook. "Like Han chauvinism, it is another relic of the past, harmful to unity among the nationalities and totally destructive of the interests of the nationality itself. Therefore it must also be overcome."[34]

It is not hard to see the various manifestations of Han chauvinism noted here are not reflections of the exclusionary view in ancient China that "Those who are not of our kin are sure to be of a different heart" or the racial nationalism the late Qing early Republic era expressed in the slogan "Overthrow the Qing Dynasty and expel the Manchus." Rather remnants of the sense of Han superiority reflected in Huang-Han nationalism are evident in them. They are also evident in the "good wishes" during the urgent changes that took place after victory in the revolution, when many people thought minority nationalities lacked the capability and initiative to adapt to the new social norms, work demands, changing habits and changes in religious beliefs. This situation resulted in paternalism, contempt and mockery and an attitude of superiority, including language discrimination. "Some Han people regard themselves as superior in many respects and look upon other fraternal nationalities as backward. That attitude is a manifestation of bourgeois nationalism."[35] Local nationalism was manifested in conservatism and in an attitude of hesitation, apprehension and resistance to anything new, coupled with an excessive emphasis on protecting one's own interests. Although these two kinds of nationalism basically did not contain separatist demands to split up the country, the instigation and delusions fomented along China's borders by imperialists during China's modern period still persisted, and upper class elements that resisted democratic reforms could easily use these conflicts in attitude and behavior among the people to provoke incidents and incite nationalistic hatred, and in extreme cases, even armed rebellion. Therefore, combating both kinds of nationalism, particularly Han chauvinism, was not only an important element of the CPC's policy on nationalities, but also the country's basic law requires that nationalism be opposed.

Why is it important to first combat Han chauvinism? Because the Han nationality is China's main nationality, and Han culture has a powerful influence in both official circles and civil society. In addition the Han nationality had a higher level of economic development and the Party and government's policies were mainly publicized and implemented by Han cadres. Therefore, if Han cadres manifested an attitude of Han chauvinism it would lead minority nationalities to distrust the Party and government's policies and principles and then oppose and resist them. In many cases the nationality question was simplified and dealt with impetuously. After the founding of PRC, problems arose in some localities. "An important cause was their impetuosity."[36] Even though this impetuosity was motivated by good intentions, it led to unrealistic simplification when dealing with long-standing complex problems, and when this simplification reached radical proportions, it resulted in "Left"

[34] Liu Shaoqi (2010), p. 120.

[35] Zhou Enlai (2010d), p. 200.

[36] Deng Xiaoping (1994a), p. 165.

mistakes that were harmful to the Party and government's nationality work and worsened nationality relations.

Mao Zedong criticized this kind of phenomenon very severely. He said: "For Communists this is an intolerable situation. We must go to the root and criticize the Han chauvinist ideas which exist to a serious degree among many Party members and cadres, namely, the reactionary ideas of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie, or the ideas characteristic of the Kuomintang, which are manifested in the relations between nationalities. Mistakes in this respect must be corrected at once…. It will be very dangerous if we fail now to give timely education and resolutely overcome Han chauvinism in the Party and among the people. The problem in the relations between nationalities which reveals itself in the Party and among the people in many places is the existence of Han chauvinism to a serious degree and not just a matter of its vestiges. In other words, bourgeois ideas dominate the minds of those comrades and people who have had no Marxist education and have not grasped the nationality policy of the Central Committee."[37] Therefore, Deng Xiaoping said, "If we throw off Han chauvinism, the minority nationalities will forsake their narrow nationalism in return. We should not ask the minority nationalities to abolish their nationalism before we honestly abolish Han chauvinism. Once these two isms are abolished, unity will result."[38] This is in accord with the viewpoint of Marxist dialectics.

From the founding of the People's Republic till the 1950s was the period in which the Party began to comprehensively formulate and energetically implement its nationality policy for New China and also the period in which the foundation for solving the nationality question was laid. The policies and principles discussed above were subservient to comprehensively implementing the system of regional autonomy. This basic policy constituted the basic content of the Law on Regional National Autonomy of the People's Republic of China promulgated in 1984.

## 3.3 Comprehensively Exercising the System of Regional Autonomy

As discussed above, the unity of our multi-nationality country and the sense of wholeness of the concept of the Chinese nation led the CPC to thoroughly reject the dogmatic thinking of the Soviet model of a federal country and make the historic decision to establish a people's republic and institute regional national autonomy in areas where minority nationalities were concentrated. This historic decision does not at all mean that the CPC rejected the principle of national self-determination. Rather, it indicates that the CPC, in the course of its struggle to found New China and its revolution to overthrow the encroachment on China's sovereignty by

[37] Mao Zedong (1990), p. 128.

[38] Deng Xiaoping (1994a), p. 165.

imperialist forces, achieved the self-determination of the Chinese nation. "The founding of the People's Republic of China was national self-determination in relation to imperialism."[39] This is in accord with Lenin's statement that national self-determination "cannot have any other meaning than political self-determination, state independence, and the formation of a national state."[40] As this applies to China, it means the self-determination to establish an independent People's Republic of China through the New-Democratic Revolution.

In the same essay Lenin articulated another basic principle, "The categorical requirement of Marxist theory in investigating any social question is that it be examined within definite historical limits, and, if it refers to a particular country (e. g. the national programme for a given country), that account be taken of the specific features distinguishing that country from others in the same historical epoch." The practical application of this principle in China was carried out on the foundation of the Chinese nation establishing a united multi-nationality country through the self-determination of the Chinese nation and taking China's actual situation as its starting point, and resulted in the formulation of the country's nationality program – to institute regional national autonomy in areas where minority nationalities were concentrated.

China instituted the system of regional national autonomy beginning with the establishment of people's government of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region in 1947. Regional national autonomy is a system of self-rule in which nationality and regional factors are combined, political and economic factors are combined, and historical and contemporary factors are combined within the structure of centralized unified state power. This system is in accord with China's historical conditions, and it embodies China's traditional wisdom expressed in the principles of union of all lands under heaven, rule according to local customs, and harmony without uniformity. It also suited contemporary conditions in that it was capable of safeguarding the principle of the country's unity, territorial integrity and sovereignty, and effectively guaranteeing the equality of nationalities, their unity and cooperation, and their right to common development.

### *3.3.1 Why Did the CPC Give up the Federal System?*

The federation of the Soviet Union established on the basis of a federal system had an enormous effect on the Chinese revolution. In the course of the New-Democratic Revolution, the CPC always made establishing a federal government an element of its political program, and in the areas under its political control set up political entities that nominally followed the Soviet example, such as the Provisional Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic, based on the notion of a Chinese Soviet federation. A clear example of using federal principles to establish a political system is that of

[39] Ulanhu (1999b), p. 359.

[40] Lenin (1967), p. 605.

Zhang Guotao, commander of the Red Fourth Army who wrote and promulgated the Notice of the Hui, Fan and Yi Minority Nationality Committees of the Chinese Soviet Northwest Federation in May 1935 before the Red First and Fourth Armies joined forces. This declaration and subsequent correspondence concerning it referred to the "Hui, Fan and Yi minority nationalities establishing people's revolutionary governments at prefectural, district and township levels for their entire nationality in which they manage their own affairs and exercise national determination."[41] This prepared the conditions for their inclusion in a federal government. After the Red First and Fourth Armies joined forces, the Party Central Committee adopted a resolution concerning the situation and tasks at that time, in which it made a further analysis and clarification of its policy on the nationality question, and set forth the tasks for the Party's work concerning minority nationalities at that stage. The foremost task was to arouse all the nationalities to struggle for national liberation and independence and attain the goals of opposing imperialism and national oppression and achieving national self-determination. On this foundation the resolution stressed that the "federal policy is correct" and the Central Committee believes, "It is premature to establish a Chinese Soviet Northwest Federation at present."[42] In fact, given the strength of the Party and the army at that time, the declaration of a "federal government," except for its symbolic political significance, was nothing more than an attempt by Zhang Guotao to use his position in the army to gain political power.

The CPC's political thinking of establishing a federal government had its origins in the practice of the Soviet Union and directives from the Communist International, and was also influenced by the movement to establish a federation of autonomous provinces after the Revolution of 1911. The unification of the country was a firm goal of the CPC. Given the conditions that prevailed at that time, the policy choices made at that time to achieve this goal inevitably included the federal system that the Soviet Union had already implemented, but they also included regional national autonomy, just as the idea of establishing a worker-peasant Soviet country evolved into establishing a people's republic. Formulating a specific program for solving the nationality question on the basis of concrete historical circumstances is an inherent requirement of Marxist historical materialism and dialectical materialism. Tactics are the path and method for implementing policy, and they must be flexible so they can adjust to changing times and local conditions. Exploring how to integrate basic Marxist principles with the concrete realities of China's revolution was a dynamic process of development. At a time when the CPC lacked a thorough understanding of the complexity of China's nationality question, federalist slogans and the practice of autonomy were a necessary stage in exploring a path suitable for China. This is

[41] "Notice of the Hui, Fan and Yi Minority Nationalities Committee of the Chinese Soviet Northwest Federation," *A Collection of Documents on the Problem of Nationalities*, Central Party School Press, Beijing, 1991, p. 263.

[42] "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the Political Situation and Tasks After the First and Fourth Front Armies of the Red Army Joined Forces," *A Collection of Documents on the Problem of Nationalities*, Central Party School Press, Beijing, 1991, p. 306.

why the CPC did not declare it was abandoning the federal model before the founding of the People's Republic of China.

After the victory in the Anti-Japanese War in 1945, Mao Zedong published the article "On Coalition Government," in which he discussed the issues of a new-democratic country and political power and also addressed the issue of a federal system. His conception of federalism at that time was that all nationalities within China should, on the basis of the principle of willingness and democracy, organize a Chinese democratic federal republic and establish a federal central government on a foundation of federalism. However, this proposal called for avoiding civil war in establishing the government and reflected the basic requirements of the Chinese people after the Anti-Japanese War. It also made the suggestion to "convene a national assembly on a broad democratic basis and set up a formally constituted democratic government."[43] Ignoring this historical context makes it very difficult to avoid misunderstanding and ambiguity in discussing the CPC's attitude on federalism. The resumption of the civil war made it impossible to implement federalism, whereas a small-scale trial of regional national autonomy was carried out in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region and then implemented on a larger scale in Inner Mongolia in 1947. This correct and effective practice was the strongest basis for the choice to follow this path. The final decision of the federal system wasn't made till the founding of the People's Republic. Which system – federalism or regional national autonomy – was more suited to China's history as a united minority nationality country? Which one was more suited to the CPC's basic understanding of the Chinese nation and a united country? When the choice had to be made on the eve of the founding of the PRC, the conditions for making it were already ripe.

In September 1949 just before the convening of the First Plenary Session of the CPPCC, Zhou Enlai issued a report to the deputies in which he said, "There is a question concerning the state system we shall adopt, namely, should we adopt a minority nationality federal system. I would like to state for your consideration the thinking that went into writing the draft. China is a minority nationality country, and its unique characteristic is that the Han nationality constitutes a large majority of the population, numbering more than 400 million, and all the minority nationalities together account for less than 10 % of the population. Of course, large or small, all our country's nationalities are equal. Above all, the Han nationality should respect the other nationalities' religion, language and customs. The major question in this respect is whether nationality policy should take autonomy as its goal or whether it should transcend the scope of autonomy. We advocate national autonomy, but we must prevent imperialists from using the nationality question to sow dissension concerning China's unity.… Uniting all China's nationalities into one large family will keep imperialists from provoking dissolution. Chen Jiageng recently went to the Northeast and the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region to observe conditions there, and when he returned he said that in Inner Mongolia Han and Mongolian people are cooperating like brothers. This news made us very happy, and it shows that our nationality policy has succeeded.… For this reason we have chosen People's

[43] Mao Zedong (1991), p. 1030.

Republic of China as the name for China and are not calling it a federation."[44] In 1957, Zhou Enlai gave a famous speech giving a deeper exposition of China's nationality policy that explained why the Soviet federal system wasn't suitable for China.

In that speech, Zhou Enlai discussed the different historical conditions in the Soviet Union and China and different paths to power of their Communist parties. He stated, "Historical development has provided the necessary conditions for cooperation among our nationalities, while revolutionary movements have furnished the necessary foundations for it. The system of regional national autonomy which we have adopted since liberation is one which suits the country's social conditions and will help promote that cooperation." He discussed the historical background, unique national conditions and distribution of nationalities underlying China's system of regional national autonomy, and gave a conclusive exposition of the system models the Soviet Union and China adopted to solve the nationality question, "The forms of autonomy in the two countries differ not only in name but also in structure, that is, in substance."[45] Obviously, it was possible in 1957 to make a systematic comparison and exposition of many national characteristics of the Soviet Union's and China's nationality structures that were not yet clearly understood in 1949, and this new understanding was directly related the nationality work done after the founding of the PRC of straightening out nationality relations, differentiating nationalities, and carrying out scientific surveys of China's minority nationalities. This article and its historical insight and standpoint in China's national conditions give a scientific answer to the question of why China did not choose to establish a federal country.

### *3.3.2 How Did China Exercise Regional National Autonomy?*

The fact that China never implemented the Soviet Union's federal system does not mean that it violated Marxist-Leninist principles. Lenin believed that in a united, socialist multi-nationality country, "We demand unconditional *equality* for all nations in the state and the unconditional protection of the rights of every national minority. We demand broad self-government and autonomy for regions, which must be demarcated, among other terms of reference, in respect of nationality too."[46] Drawing the boundaries of autonomous regions on the basis of the characteristics of nationalities is implementing regional national autonomy. There is no contradiction between this kind of autonomy and the system of democratic centralism. Lenin's choice of a federal system was a tactical decision concerning how to create a centralized unified country in light of the effects the existence of remnants of the Tsarist Russian Empire had on the national conditions surrounding the nationality question. The CPC at first advocated a federal system, then explored regional national autonomy

[44] Zhou Enlai (2010e), p. 3.

[45] Zhou Enlai (2010d), pp. 190, 185.

[46] Lenin (1963), p. 116.

and finally chose regional national autonomy. This is the result of creatively applying Marxism-Leninism on the foundation of the Soviet Union's experience.

In the Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference promulgated on the eve of the founding of the People's Republic, the system of regional national autonomy was set forth with the force of constitutional authority, "Regional autonomy shall be exercised in areas where national minorities are concentrated, and various kinds of autonomy organizations of the different nationalities shall be set up according to the size of the respective populations and regions. In places where different nationalities live together and in the autonomous areas of the ethnic minorities, the different nationalities shall each have an appropriate number of representatives in the local organs of political power."[47] On the basis of this legal principle, the Government Administrative Council passed the Outline of the People's Republic of China for Implementing Regional National Autonomy, which set forth the legislation and the basic criteria for implementing the system of regional national autonomy nationwide. First, "All national autonomous areas are inseparable parts of the territory of the People's Republic of China. All the autonomy organizations of the different nationalities are first-level local government bodies under the unified leadership of the central people's government and subject to the leadership of the people's government at the next higher level." On this foundation, all areas in which minority nationalities are concentrated, on the basis of the local nationality relations and conditions of economic development and in light of their historical circumstances, established autonomous regions at different administrative levels (township, district, county and prefecture all the way up to provincial level) and organized autonomous government agencies "which shall be composed primarily of members of the dominant minority nationality, while also including an appropriate number of members of other minority nationalities and the Han nationality." Autonomous rights include: autonomously overseeing the universal national language; developing cultural and educational undertakings; training cadres; voluntarily carrying out internal reform in light of the relation between the majority of the people and the their leaders; managing local finances; freely developing the local economy in conformity with the country's uniform economic system and its economic development plan; and developing cultural, educational, artistic and health undertakings. At the same time standardization was carried out on the basis of nationality relations within the autonomous region and the principle of leadership by the next higher level of people's government.[48] The implementation of this program used the method of government laws and regulations to carry out institutional design of regional national autonomy, and laid a foundation for formulating the Law on Regional National Autonomy.

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[47] Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Chapter VI, "Nationality Policy," the CPC Central Committee's Party Literature Research Office and the CPC Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Regional Committee (eds.), *Selected Working Documents of Xinjiang* (1949–2010), Central Party Literature Publishing House, Beijing, 2010, p. 13.

[48] Cf. "Program of the People's Republic of China for Implementing Regional National Autonomy," *ibid.*, pp. 73–78.

Concerning the names of autonomous regions, the Common Program stipulated: Except in special circumstances, the name of the region should be based on the name of the nationality. It also specified procedures for drawing and adjusting the borders of autonomous regions and specifying the administrative status and the name of administrative bodies. Of course, carrying all this out in practice was a very complex matter. Concerning this, Mao Zedong in 1950 emphasized, "The question of autonomy is very broad and affects Tibet, Qinghai, Ningxia, Xinjiang, Gansu, Xikang, Yunnan, Guangxi, Guizhou, Nanhai and Xiangxi. In some of these areas, an autonomous region should encompass a large area as in Inner Mongolia, and in some cases it should include only a few counties, only one county or just a district. There are many problems concerning drawing boundaries, government staffing and policy guidance that should be dealt with in a coordinated manner."[49] The founding of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region served as a model for later work.

After the peaceful liberation of Xinjiang, work was begun setting up an autonomous region in 1952 on the basis of the Outline of the People's Republic of China for Implementing Regional National Autonomy. Xinjiang itself is a multi-nationality region and it contains 13 nationalities. Therefore, it was a very complex issue to insure the autonomous rights of minority nationalities in Xinjiang. The first step in establishing autonomous areas within Xinjiang was to establish autonomous townships and districts where minority nationalities were concentrated. For example, the Yichegashan Xibe Autonomous Township was established in Huocheng County, after which a number of other autonomous townships were established, such as the Jargalangtgolin Mongol Autonomous Township in Usu County. In March 1954, with Yanqi Hui Autonomous County was established. It was the first autonomous county in Xinjiang, and subsequently six more autonomous counties were established. In June 1954, the Bayingolin Mongol Autonomous Prefecture, the first autonomous prefecture in Xinjiang, was established, and in November the Ili Kazak Autonomous Region was established. It is a sub-prefecture level autonomous region.[50] This process of starting small and establishing progressively larger autonomous areas laid a foundation for established the Xinjiang Autonomous Region.

One of the difficulties in establishing the Xinjiang autonomous region was how to implement the policy of naming autonomous regions after the minority nationality. The Uygur nationality was Xinjiang's largest minority nationality, but the central leadership gave careful consideration to whether it was appropriate to include it in the name of the Xinjiang autonomous region and whether the other nationalities there might have any objections. One suggestion was to call it the Tianshan Uygur Autonomous Region, and also the suggestion to call it Uygurstan. Mao Zedong proposed calling it the Xinjiang Autonomous Region. However after consultations with the Xinjiang local government and soliciting opinions from prominent Uygurs and many others, the central leadership decided to "call Xinjiang the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, and the word 'Uygur' is used because the Uygur people

[49] Mao Zedong (2008b), p. 29.

[50] Cf. Li Sheng (2003), pp. 230–233.

represent more than 70 % of the total population."[51] Moreover, because autonomous regions within Xinjiang where other minority nationalities were concentrated had already been established and carried the names of those nationalities the vast majority of them were willing to give Xinjiang the name Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region in recognition that Uygurs constituted the majority in Xinjiang. The vast majority of Han nationality comrades in the various Party committees in Xinjiang also agreed that the name Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region was appropriate in light of the Party's nationality policy and the actual conditions in Xinjiang.[52] It can be seen that the process of establishing national autonomous areas was not only enormously complex but also included many factors concerning nationality relations. Economic and social development conditions were an important consideration particularly in drawing the boundaries of autonomous regions. For example, "It would not be beneficial for future development if relatively developed Yining was not included in the Kazak Autonomous Region because that would deprive it of a valuable asset and leave the region without a guiding center."[53]

On September 13, 1955, the NPC Standing Committee approved the measure submitted by Premier Zhou Enlai to establish the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region and annul Xinjiang's status as a province and designate the former administrative territory of the province to be the administrative territory of the autonomous region. The establishment of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region was formally proclaimed on October 1. The establishment of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region was a model for the comprehensive implementation of the system of regional national autonomy. The interests of all nationalities were protected despite the large number of nationalities involved, and the interlocking pattern of their residence and the number of different levels of government at which autonomous areas were established, while at the same time giving proper prominence to the dominant position of the Uygur nationality. Xinjiang is the only provincial-level autonomous region that has prefecture-, county- and township-level autonomous areas within it. It is the epitome of multi-nationality multi-level regional national autonomy in China. The complexity of the situation not only shows that the federal system is not suitable to China's conditions but also indicates that regional national autonomy was the path China had to take for all of China's nationalities to build New China together. In 1950, Zhu De famously said, "Building a new Xinjiang means building a new China."[54] A national autonomous Xinjiang is a new Xinjiang.

[51] Zhou Enlai (2010d), p. 190.

[52] Cf. "Report of the CPC Xinjiang Sub-bureau on What Xinjiang Should Be Called When It Is Granted Regional National Autonomy," *ibid.*, p. 131.

[53] Deng Xiaoping, Xi Zhongxun and Li Weihan, "Two Reports on Examining and Approving the Draft Plan for Implementing Regional National Autonomy in Xinjiang," *ibid.*, p. 99.

[54] Zhu De, "Building a New Xinjiang Means Building a New China," *ibid.*, p. 60.

### 3.3.3 *The System of Regional National Autonomy Is an Unprecedented New Creation*

The decision to implement the system of regional national autonomy was made by the CPC on the basis of its grasp of China's historical conditions, and it was also an institutional arrangement the CPC made to achieve equality between nationalities in a unified multi-nationality socialist country on the basis of Lenin's theories. The Chinese government implemented Lenin's basic principle, "with the boundaries of the self-governing and autonomous regions determined by the local inhabitants themselves on the basis of their economic and social conditions, national make-up of the population, etc,"[55] which fully respects the traditional patterns of concentration of all minority nationalities. In addition, when drawing the borders of autonomous areas, the CPC gave consideration to ensuring minority nationalities autonomous rights as well as the future economic and social development of the areas. For example, in making preparations for establishing Tibetan autonomous areas, careful consideration was given to the fact that there were only a little more than one million Tibetans in Tibet, and that another million Tibetans lived in scattered enclaves in Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan and Yunnan; and autonomous prefectures and counties were established for them as well. No matter how deep the historical background of this distribution, in implementing the system of regional autonomy it was necessary to acknowledge that "these prefectures and counties maintain closer ties for economic and other types of cooperation with the provinces in which they are situated than they do with Tibet." When establishing the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, the question was raised whether it was possible to establish a unitary Zhuang autonomous region that also encompassed adjacent Zhuang areas in Yunnan and Guizhou. However, "With its boundaries drawn that way, the region would have been isolated, which would have greatly hampered its economic development. In that case, the railways in the region and those in the Han areas of Guangxi would have been placed under separate administrations, and agriculture in eastern Guangxi would have been cut off from the mining and industrial enterprises in the western part of the region. Separation of that sort would not have helped to promote common progress. On the other hand, integration of western and eastern Guangxi into a single administrative region would contribute to that goal. Therefore, the present Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region is an integrated administrative region in which the nationalities can benefit each other through mutual cooperation."[56]

A similar issue concerned Mongol autonomous areas outside Inner Mongolia, in Xinjiang, Qinghai and the Northeast, and also the Hui nationality, whose population was spread all over China. In those cases it was not possible to establish unitary autonomous regions. This population distribution was the result of the peoples of the five directions interacting with each other over millennia, resulting in a situation in which settlements of any nationality were dispersed and contiguous with

[55] Lenin (1977), p. 50.

[56] Zhou Enlai (2010d), p. 188.

settlements of other nationalities, and in any settlement where one nationality predominated, there were always members of other nationalities living there too. Members of any nationality were scattered, and in any locality, members of different nationalities lived together, and all minority nationalities had members who lived in areas where members of the Han nationality predominated. This meant that the establishment of autonomous areas had to take a variety of forms. In autonomous regions and prefectures there were invariably settlements where members of other nationalities were concentrated, and it was possible to establish autonomous counties (banners) within them, and in some cases two or more nationalities together formed an autonomous prefecture or county.[57] In addition, in drawing up boundaries of autonomous areas, full consideration was given to the traditional economic activities of the nationalities concerned, for example, to the pastureland needs for nationalities that relied on herding for their livelihood. Therefore, most of the areas in which minority nationalities are concentrated have considerable territory; for example, the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region and Tibet Autonomous Region all cover more than a million sq. km.

The establishment of China's national autonomous areas followed the uniform administrative divisions of the country and conformed to the division of provinces, municipalities and counties, and autonomous regions, prefectures or counties were established on the basis of those boundaries wherever the concentration of minority nationalities warranted it.[58] Due to the mutual interaction of all of China's nationalities over thousands of years, all China's nationalities are to some extent dispersed and most localities have a number of different nationalities living there. There many autonomous prefectures and counties in the provinces in central, eastern and northeastern China and along the coast where the Han nationality predominates, and some minority nationalities with very small populations have just one or a few autonomous townships. So at present the basic layout of autonomous areas is five provincial-level autonomous regions, 30 municipal-level autonomous prefectures, and 120 autonomous counties. Fifteen provinces or municipalities directly under the central government (excluding the five autonomous regions) contain autonomous prefecture or counties within their borders.[59] The 155 autonomous areas together cover 64 % of the country's area. Zhou Enlai pointed out, "The realities in our country call for the practice of regional national autonomy, a system that allows the nationalities to govern themselves either in large regions or in smaller areas, depending on both economic and political factors. Such a system grants autonomy not only to minority people living separately in homogenous communities, but also

[57] Two minority nationalities jointly exercise autonomy in ten of China's 30 autonomous prefectures. China has 120 autonomous counties (banners); two minority nationalities jointly exercise autonomy in 27 of them, three exercise autonomy in six of them, and four exercise autonomy in one of them.

[58] Autonomous counties are called autonomous banners in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region as a result of the carryover of the Qing Dynasty's system of leagues and banners in Inner Mongolia.

[59] They are Heilongjiang, Jiling, Liaoning, Hebei, Zhejiang, Hainan, Guangdong, Yunnan, Guizhou, Hubei, Hunan, Chongqing, Sichuan, Qinghai, and Gansu.

to those living together in mixed communities. In our country almost every nationality, whatever the number of its population and the degree of its concentration, has set up its own autonomous area corresponding to its size, and thus enjoys a full measure of autonomy. This system is a new creation never before seen in history."[60]

The purpose of establishing national autonomous areas within China's unified administrative divisions was to use the state system and laws to ensure the equal rights of minority nationalities. On September 20, 1954, the First NPC passed the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. Article 3 of the Constitution specifies, "The People's Republic of China is a unified multinational state.… Regional autonomy is practiced in all areas where people of ethnic minorities live in concentrated communities. All ethnic autonomous areas are inseparable parts of the People's Republic of China." This is the basis for the position of the system or regional national autonomy in state law.

China's system of national autonomy is a system based on fairness and justice. It carries out system design and standardization of laws and regulations in the areas of political equality, economic development, cultural prosperity and social security that are progressive by world standards. China has verified the status of minority nationalities, instituted regional national autonomy, and solved the problem of minority nationalities enjoying equality and autonomous rights in the political and social realms. Equality is not only equality in political rights, but also includes equality in economic, cultural and social life. It can be said that only if equality is achieved in economic, cultural and social life is it possible to ensure genuine equality in political rights. However, all of China's national autonomous areas are economically and socially underdeveloped, and lie at the bottom in nationwide tables of economic and social development. This kind of situation means that minority nationalities are able to enjoy a position of equality granted to them by law, but not able to fully enjoy the rights and interests conferred by society. Marxism calls this "de-facto inequality." Therefore, genuine equality can be achieved only by constantly decreasing and ultimately eliminating disparities in economic, cultural and social life.

The contradiction that the system of regional national autonomy must strive to solve is the contradiction between advanced institutional arrangements and a backward economic foundation. Deng Xiaoping said, "Regional national autonomy will be only nominal if we fail to manage economic affairs well."[61] Concerning areas where there are concentrated settlements of minority nationalities, which invariably have backward levels of economic and social development, implementing regional national autonomy is directed toward solving the nationality question; however, the question that first needs to be solved is the question of the areas' economic development and improving people's lives, because "Economics is the foundation for solving the nationality question. We need to raise their living standards and make them as advances as ours. As long as the economic question remains unsolved, the

[60] Zhou Enlai (2010d), p. 188.

[61] Deng Xiaoping (1994a), p. 167.

nationality question cannot be solved."[62] Therefore, the main task of the China's nationality affairs is to accelerate the pace of minority nationalities' economic and social development, and gradually decrease and ultimately eliminate the disparity in the economic and social development and in people's lives between nationalities, so that minority nationalities, the people of all nationalities in national autonomous areas and the people of all China's nationalities are equally prosperous.

However, as Lenin pointed out, the nationality question is not an isolated question, but a part of the overall social question, and it can be solved only in the context of a solution to the general question. If it can be said that the general question of the New-Democratic Revolution was combating imperialism and feudalism and overturning the three mountains pressing down on the heads of the Chinese people, then what was overall social question after the founding of New China? How should the overall social question of New China be understood, and how should the nationality question be solved in the course of solving it? These were the basic questions the CPC had to explore in making the transition from the New-Democratic Revolution to the process of building socialism.

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[62] Deng Xiaoping (2010), p. 104.

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# Chapter 4
# Developing the Western Region in the Primary Stage of Socialism

*What stage of socialism is China in? It is in the primary stage of socialism. Socialism itself is the first stage of communism, and here in China we are still in the primary stage of socialism – that is, the underdeveloped stage. In everything we do we must proceed from this reality, and all planning must be consistent with it.*

–Deng Xiaoping, "In Everything We Do We Must Proceed from the Realities of the Primary Stage of Socialism"

*Regional national autonomy will be only nominal if we fail to manage economic affairs well.*

–Deng Xiaoping, "The Question of Minority Nationalities in the Southwest"

*Socialism industrialization must extend to all regions and areas, no matter which nationalities inhabit them. It is unthinkable that industry should become highly developed in the Han areas while remaining for a long time very backward in Tibet, in the Uygur Autonomous Region or in the pastoral areas of Inner Mongolia. In that were the case, how could we call ourselves a socialist country? Modernization must be put into effect in all autonomous regions and areas inhabited by any of the minority nationalities.*

–Zhou Enlai, "Questions Relating to Our Policies toward China's Nationalities"

*Accelerating the development of minority nationalities and minority nationality areas is not only a major economic issue but also a major political issue.*

–Jiang Zemin, "Report at the Central Conference on Nationality Work"

## 4.1 Exploring Nationality Affairs and Its Major Setbacks

In the more than 100 years between the outbreak of the First Opium War in 1840 and the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, dramatic social changes took place in the ancient land of China. Waves of young men and women with lofty

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ideals emerged who were willing to spill their blood and sacrifice their lives to extricate their country from the peril of losing sovereignty under humiliating terms and to write a new chapter in the unremitting struggle of the national salvation movement in order to set China on a new course for the future. Eventually, the CPC, which was established in 1921, led the people of all China's nationalities onto the path of anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist self-determination, and established an independent New China. History shows that only the CPC was capable of saving China.

In the 1950s, the newly independent people of China set about rapidly restoring their ravaged country that was bursting with potential under the leadership of the CPC, and they achieved significant results in the areas of government building, economic development, and domestic and foreign affairs, and lay solid foundations for a new society, including beginning a new phase in resolving nationality issues. In 1956, New China completed the transition from new democracy to socialism, as symbolized by the basic socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production and the establishment of a basic socialist system, and thereby entered a new stage of socialist construction. At that time, developing socialism became the major task facing the Party.

Between 1956, when the decision was made at the 8th National People's Congress to consider the tasks and basic guidelines for developing socialism in China, and 1978, when the 3rd Plenary Session of 11th CPC Central Committee made the policy decision to implement the great strategy of reform and opening up, China explored the course for building socialism, and after almost 20 years of twists and turns discovered a path that is grounded and effective both ideologically and in praxis.

### *4.1.1 Understanding the General Challenge for the Chinese Society*

In 1956, the first problem China encountered was the ideological and theoretical impact of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in February of that year. At the congress, Nikita Khrushchev shocked the entire socialist camp and drew the attention of the Western world with his "Secret Speech." His criticism of the personality cult surrounding Stalin forced the CPC to begin an international communist polemic on the basic problem of how to defend Marxism-Leninism. It also meant "the CPC elevated Stalin's merits and demerits to a summary of the historical experiences of the international communist movement, to make it an opportunity for exploring China's own path of building socialism." In summarizing the Soviet experience and lessons that could be drawn from it, Mao Zedong realized that "We need to avoid isolating ourselves from the individual importance and individual heroism of the masses, and reduce subjectivism and one-sidedness that comes from being divorced from the objective reality of actual situations in the

course of our work."[1] However, in the short history of building socialism worldwide, there were no guarantees that this type of problem could be avoided under the historical conditions of the time.

In April 1956, Mao Zedong's speech "On the Ten Major Relationships" was the first guiding document of the CPC that systematically explained and explored the path for building socialism in China. In the speech, Mao Zedong suggested that the relationship between the Han nationality and minority nationalities was characterized by "ten major relationships":

> *Comparatively speaking, our policy on the relationship between the Han nationality and the minority nationalities is sound and has won the favor of the minority nationalities. We put the emphasis on opposing Han chauvinism. Local-nationality chauvinism must be opposed too, but generally that is not where our emphasis lies.… We say China is a country vast in territory, rich in resources and large in population; as a matter of fact, it is the Han nationality whose population is large and the minority nationalities whose territory is vast and whose resources are rich, or at least in all probability their resources under the soil are rich.… All through the ages, the reactionary rulers, chiefly from the Han nationality, sowed feelings of estrangement among our various nationalities and bullied the minority peoples. Even among the working people it is not easy to eliminate the resultant influences in a short time. So we have to make extensive and sustained efforts to educate both the cadres and the masses in our proletarian nationality policy and make a point of frequently reviewing the relationship between the Han nationality and the minority nationalities. One such review was made two years ago and there should be another now.… We must sincerely and actively help the minority nationalities to develop their economy and culture. In the Soviet Union the relationship between the Russian nationality and the minority nationalities is very abnormal; we should draw lessons from this.*[2]

There is no doubt that this was an extremely accurate evaluation of China's nationalities policy and its practical effectiveness, understanding of the long-term and complex nature of nationality issues, and verdict on national relations in the Soviet Union. It also provided fundamental guidelines for nationality affairs while exploring the path of socialist construction in China.

The 8th National People's Congress held in September 1956 correctly analyzed changes in the domestic situation and the main domestic contradictions and set out the Party's fundamental tasks for the future, which required all of the Party's work to concentrate on developing the productive forces in a timely manner, and also made the important judgment that the main domestic contradiction was that between "the advanced socialist system and backward socialist productive forces." Regardless of whether this judgment was accurate, supporting and giving play to the superiority of the basic socialist political system following its establishment by developing socialist productive forces was undoubtedly correct and necessary. This represented a scientific understanding of the general social problems (basic contradictions) facing the "poor and blank" large agricultural country of China during the period of socialist construction. The 8th CPC National Congress and its ideological and

[1] The CPC Central Committee's Party Literature Research Office (2011), pp. 379, 378.

[2] Mao Zedong (1992), pp. 93–97.

theoretical achievements provided a powerful impetus for the implementation of the 1st 5-Year Plan, which made significant achievements.

Nevertheless, the waves created among the international communist movement by the 20th Congress of the CPSU led to incidents in Poland and Hungary before and after the 8th Party Congress. Mao Zedong's judgment of these events was that, "The question before every ruling communist party around the world is how to integrate the universal truths of the October Revolution with the concrete realities of each country. This is an important question. Events in Poland and Hungary should make us consider further China's problems."[3] At that time, workers' strikes, petitions, protests by farmers, and criticism from intellectuals also began to appear within China. Some Party cadres lacked the ideological preparation to analyze these new social contradictions, and the general state of mind and conscious reaction was to use the concept of class struggle in the revolutionary period (including the reform and transformation stage) to analyze and deal with these problems.

In February 1957, Mao Zedong gave a speech titled "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People" (published in June), in which he pointed out that the basic contradictions in socialist society were still those between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base, but that these contradictions are non-antagonistic during the socialist period and are a matter of adaptation. He stated that the basic social contradictions of socialism lead to the emergence and development of political, economic, and cultural contradictions. If socialist society's productive forces and relations of production are basically compatible, they can adjust and resolve basic contradictions, thereby solving other contradictions that arise as a result. However, this does not mean that there is no class conflict. Even when large-scale, turbulent struggles of the masses are basically over, class struggle will not completely end. Mao produced a scientific discourse in which he divided them into two types of contradictions differing in nature and used different methods to solve the two types of contradictions.

In "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People," Mao judged China's nationality problem to be that, "Both Han chauvinism and local-nationality chauvinism are harmful to the unity of the nationalities; they represent one kind of contradiction among the people which should be resolved." This is an accurate analysis of the basic nature of China's nationality problem during the period of socialist construction. Given that class relations among minority nationalities had not yet been fully resolved – or even begun to be resolved in the cases of some minority nationalities such as Tibetans, who maintained a system of theocratic feudal serfdom – class issues were caught up in the nationality problem. On the question of when change would begin, Mao Zedong pointed out, "… the timing can only be decided when the great majority of the people of Tibet and the local leading public figures consider it opportune, and one should not be impatient."[4] In March of that year, Zhou Enlai gave a lengthy speech on national-

[3] The CPC Central Committee's Party Literature Research Office (2011), p. 425.

[4] Mao Zedong, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," *Works of Mao Zedong Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China,* Vol. VI, p. 341.

ity relations and regional national autonomy in which he highlighted the issue of "national sentiment." He believed that,

> *Every nationality has national sentiment, but due to the superior position of the Han nationality, it is difficult for them to understand the national sentiments of minority nationalities. This tells the Han people, especially those responsible for leadership work, that we should pay attention to understanding the feelings of our brother nationalities, and study their history and culture.... Nationality issues have always been complicated and troublesome. Every nationality has historical vestiges left from the process of its long-term development. A historical analysis of nationalities issues with a class viewpoint is required. In a society with classes, nationalities issues are inseparable from class issues, but nationalities issues are not the same as class issues, so these two issues are connected and yet different.... There are two aspects to national sentiment, which require further analysis.... However, we must also recognize that national sentiment may be used by the reactionary classes and become narrow nationalism.... A province and even a county can have local sentiment, not to mention a nation! Both national sentiment and local sentiment have two aspects to them. In a class society, they always carry with them the stigma of class. But to suggest that national sentiment is the same as class sentiment is incorrect.*[5]

This analysis accords with Mao Zedong's views on correctly handling contradictions among the people.

In accordance with the objectives of the 8th CPC National Congress, in the process of comprehensively pushing forward the cause of socialist construction and on the basis of grasping the general problems (basic contradictions) of the period of socialist construction, the CPC's analysis of nationalities issues was consistent with the facts and its concerns over relations between domestic nationalities were realistic and prudent. While implementing the system of regional national autonomy, vigorously assisting and supporting the economic development of minority nationality areas was a fundamental task. As Zhou Enlai pointed out,

> *Socialism industrialization must extend to all regions and areas, no matter which nationalities inhabit them. It is unthinkable that industry should become highly developed in the Han areas while remaining for a long time very backward in Tibet, in the Uygur Autonomous Region or in the pastoral areas of Inner Mongolia. In that were the case, how could we call ourselves a socialist country? Modernization must be put into effect in all autonomous regions and areas inhabited by any of the minority nationalities. A modernization drive must be launched nationwide. This testifies to our lofty spirit, the spirit of friendship and amity among our great community of nationalities.*[6]

However, it must be noted that the democratic reforms and the socialist transformation had not yet been achieved in minority nationality areas. Reforms had not yet been carried out locally in Tibet, and in some minority nationality areas old systems had not been completely abolished. In other words, in the new society as a whole turbulent class-based revolution was history, but in some minority nationality areas, especially Tibet, class-based revolution had not yet begun, and it is a fact that class-based society remained in some regions of New China. The problems that arose from this were used to judge the overall situation of class struggle in China, and inevitably led to setbacks in the cause of socialist construction and nationality affairs.

[5] Zhou Enlai (1994), pp. 149–153.

[6] Zhou Enlai (2010a), p. 197.

### 4.1.2 *From "Advancing Cautiously" to "Achieving Greater, Faster, Better, and More Economical Results"*

The party rectification campaign that began on May 1, 1951, sought to rectify the Party's work style by comprehensively implementing the ideas on correctly handling contradictions among the people. The goal was to use the criticism and suggestions of different social groups to overcome the Party's subjectivism, sectarianism, and bureaucracy and bring the Party's work style in line with the new requirements of socialist construction and solve contradictions among the people. But among the growing criticisms and suggestions from society were queries and attacks on the Party's leadership and the basic system of socialism. A rightist ideological trend opposing the CPC and socialism gathered pace, which even led people to speculate that the CPC leadership was in crisis. This trend garnered the attention of the Party Central Committee and Mao Zedong, and the theme of the rectification campaign changed from correctly handling contradictions among the people to struggling against the enemy, which lifted the curtain on and led to an expansion of the anti-rightist struggle.

The expansion of the anti-rightist struggle had a significantly negative impact on China's exploration of the path of socialist construction and curtailed the positive start made by the 8th CPC National Congress, and led to a complete turnaround in the view of the 3rd Plenary Session of the 8th CPC Central Committee on basic social contradictions in China. Mao Zedong stated, "The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road, is undoubtedly the principal contradiction in contemporary Chinese society."[7] This reassessment of the general problems (basic contradictions) in the period of socialist construction not only caused the Party's guiding ideology to move to the "left," but also led to vigorous nationwide implementation of the Great Leap Forward and setting up of people's communes guided by the "General Line." The two slogans "achieve greater, faster, better, and more economical results" and "achieve less, slower, worse, and less economical results" compared the two paths of socialist construction. It represented a choice that reflected the Chinese leadership's impatient, aggressive, and anxious desire to quickly achieve goals, and highlighted the belief that socialism would triumph over capitalism as well as the unrealistic ambition of overtaking the United Kingdom's industrial and agricultural output within 15 years and catching up with the United States within 20 years.

The launch of the Great Leap Forward played a significant role in mobilizing various undertakings in China. But industries constantly raising their targets and competing with each other to announce exaggerated production output led to the illusion that socialist construction was achieving great victories and making monumental progress. This "creativity" at the primary level influenced leaders higher up. As such, in 1958, Mao Zedong suggested that "Imperialism oppressed us. It is certain that we will build China into a major industrial nation within three, five, or

[7] The CPC Central Committee's Party Literature Research Office (2011), p. 461.

seven years."[8] Under the great momentum of the nationwide Great Leap Forward, nationality affairs, which had advanced carefully and steadily since the founding of the People's Republic of China, were regarded as part of the of Right deviationist conservatism that advocated that minority nationality areas were special and that nationality affairs should be handled only gradually and conditionally; they were also thought to belong to the principle of "achieving less, slower, worse, and less economical results" and opposing making faster progress. In the wave of setting up people's communes, using the principle of doing things with greater, faster, better, and more economical results to deal with long-term and complex nationalities issues helped achieve cross-stage social development.

From the start of the rectification campaign and anti-rightist movement in 1957, a transformation took place in the reform process in minority nationality areas from mainly combating Han chauvinism to mainly combating local nationalism. As one scholar noted, "A large-scale debate has begun nationwide on the paths of capitalism and socialism, combined with criticism of local nationalist ideology," and, "for a time, overcoming Han chauvinist ideology became a serious political task, because only by overcoming Han chauvinism could local nationalism be overcome." However, today,

> *The vast majority of minority nationality areas and Han areas in China are the same. Having basically achieved socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, many minority nationalities from the exploiting class are reconciled to the death of their class. Local nationalism, which is a reflection of opposition to socialist transformation by the exploiting class, has developed to become a dangerous tendency worthy of strict vigilance. When the countercurrent of local nationalism becomes dangerous enough to threaten China's national unity, it is imperative we resolutely oppose and overcome local nationalism while continuing to pay attention to overcoming the trend of Han chauvinism.*[9]

Therefore, as the national anti-rightist movement expanded, cadres, intellectuals, and even the general public in minority nationality areas were labeled "bourgeois local nationalists" and "national separatists." As a result, "In the area of nationalist issues, a decisive victory was achieved on the political and ideological fronts of the socialist revolution."[10] This victory on the political and ideological fronts inevitably led to minority nationalities and the areas they inhabited embracing socialism in their economic and social life together with the rest of the country.

### *4.1.3 To Jump into Socialism in One Step*

During the implementation of democratic and socialist reforms, there not only existed various class systems within minority nationalist areas, but also a series of adaptability problems in the areas of social traditions, spoken and written language,

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 486.

[9] Xie Fumin (1959), p. 46, 47.

[10] Wang Feng, "The Great Victory of Our Policies Toward Nationalities," *ibid.*, p. 26.

religious beliefs, economic life, and cultural practices, of which a very clear understanding existed in both the ideological and theoretical as well as policy-based nationality work of the Party. However, under the nationwide Great Leap Forward, the desire and passion to urgently accelerate development led to the complex process of solving nationalities issues being grossly oversimplified. It was stated at the time that China could "overtake Britain in 15 years" and "catch up with the United States in 20 years," and that minority nationality areas could also catch up with Han areas within a short period of time. Despite the absence of objective assessments and with little regard for the economic and social conditions or whether or not democratic reforms in minority nationality areas were stable or class relations within minority nationalities had been effectively adjusted, the victory against local nationalism on political and ideological fronts led to a vigorous march towards setting up people's communes in minority areas. This change also led to an atmosphere of pushing forward national integration, and a policy of copying the experiences of Han areas replaced the Party's earlier policies on nationalities. This led to nationality areas and townships below the county level having their status revoked, a number of autonomous counties being merged, and some autonomous prefectures existing in name only. In the course of reforms aimed at changing habits and customs, many localities ignored the wishes of minority nationalities and their ability to accept change. They were criticized as "peculiar," "backward" and "local nationalists," and a series of inflated targets were proposed and radical methods adopted to attain them.

These harmful and radical changes in the political, economic, cultural, and social lives of people in autonomous minority nationality areas produced many negative effects, including constraints on the rights of minority nationalities to use their spoken and written languages. This is illustrated by the fact that in 1957, 14.62 million books were published in minority nationality languages, but only 9.1 million volumes were published in 1962.[11] This not only harmed the self-esteem and self-confidence of minority nationality cadres and the masses built up under the policy to protect national equality, but undermined their confidence in the Party's nationalities policy to a certain extent. As the whole country was engulfed in a tide of intense action, many cadres and ordinary people from minority nationalities were swept up and carried out a conscious revolution on "moderating" class consciousness in the process of the "advance cautiously" reform, which included criticism and reform of policies on nationalities, religious leaders, landlords, herd owners, temples, and the "Three Nos and Two Benefits" as well as "catch-up lessons" on class struggle.

Such rapid and intense changes meant that people who had joined people's communes and had their land or livestock divided up suddenly found themselves with no possessions and were left feeling confused and unhappy. This was particularly true of the upper classes that had lost their privileges and assets. This led some people from the upper classes to tap the dissatisfaction felt by the masses in minority nationality areas to incite ethnic conflicts, stir up relations between nationalities,

[11] Cf. Hao Shiyuan (1993), p. 187.

and launch armed rebellions. The armed rebellion that broke out in Xunhua County, Qinghai in April 1958 brought the issue to the fore. It is beyond doubt that the organizers of the insurgency came from the upper classes of minority nationalities and represented the ruling classes of nationalities under the old system, and that most of those who participated in the insurgencies, including some Party members and cadres, had been coerced and were rebelling against the rapid changes that had taken place. This change in the situation directly affected Tibet, which was yet to implement democratic reforms. Although the outbreak of the armed rebellion in Tibet in March 1959 and the Dalai Lama's subsequent escape into exile were directly related to the Tibetan ruler's stubborn adherence to a society of feudal serfdom under theocratic rule, the dramatic changes that took place in Tibet and other Tibetan nationality areas within China were used as a pretext for the rebellion.

### *4.1.4 "Nationality Issues Are Essentially Class Issues"*

Nationality issues are an extremely complex and specific social issue. Vladimir Lenin, who was opposed to abstractions, said of nationality issues in the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial national liberation movements: "It would be utopian to believe that proletarian parties in these backward countries, if indeed they can emerge in them, can pursue communist tactics and a communist policy, without establishing definite relations with the peasant movement and without giving it effective support."[12] In this sense, "… it is also beyond doubt that, after all, the peasant question is the basis, the quintessence, of the national question. That explains the fact that the peasantry constitute the main army of the national movement, that there is no powerful national movement without the peasant army, nor can there be. That is what is meant when it is said that, in essence, the national question is a peasant question."[13] This principle, namely the idea of the worker-peasant alliance and the practice of villages encircling the city, was confirmed during China's new-democratic revolution. Mao Zedong discussed this point at length.

Stalin said of the period after the proletariat obtained political power,

> *Under the present conditions of Soviet development, the class essence of the national question lies in the establishment of correct mutual relations between the proletariat of the former dominant nation and the peasantry of the formerly oppressed nationalities… national question, at the basis of which lie the tasks of establishing correct relations between the proletariat of the former dominant nation and the peasantry of the other nationalities, assumes at the present time the special form of establishing the co-operation and fraternal co-existence of those nations which were formerly disunited and which are now uniting in a single state.*[14]

[12] Lenin (1968), p. 603.

[13] Stalin (1954a).

[14] Stalin (1954b), pp. 244–245.

Accordingly, in China it is the relationship between the CPC, led by the working class, and farmers and herdsmen, who account for the vast majority of the population of minority nationalities.[15]

Of course, although there also exists the relationship between the CPC, led by the working class, and Han peasants, who account for the vast majority of the population of the Han nationality (this does not come under nationality relations), according to Stalin's point of view their relationship "assumes at the present time the special form of establishing the co-operation and fraternal co-existence of those nations which were formerly disunited and which are now uniting in a single state." This includes the relationship between the Han nationality and minority nationalities. There are many dimensions to this relationship – the relationship between the working class, represented by the Party, and the Han nationality, which had eliminated the internal class system, and minority nationalities, who had not yet fully resolved the problem of internal class oppression.

Given that, "The movement of the peasants, who everywhere are the embodiment of national and local narrow-mindedness, necessarily assumes a local and national character,"[16] and "the countryside is the guardian of nationality,"[17] this relationship inevitably reflects the influence of "… peasants who represent bourgeois-capitalist relationships."[18] Han chauvinism and local nationalism are both the result of this influence. But democratic reforms and the socialist transformation, especially the rapid transition to people's communes and reforms to change existing habits and customs, faced the most concentrated populations of "guardians of nationality" in rural and pastoral minority nationality areas. Some of these areas had not completed or even started transforming class relations, and were still class societies. Whether it was the result of radical Party work or the transformation of minority nationalities under Han chauvinism, it was no surprise that there was a local nationalist backlash with antagonism occurring between nationalities.

After the Xunhua incident in Qinghai, the central government stated, "We should always bear in mind that in a class society, nationality issues are actually class issues, and if we fail to grasp their class nature, we will be unable to solve nationality issues,"[19] which was evidenced by the 1959 long-planned uprising in Tibet by the reactionary ruling class. In a class society, nationality issues, which are also issues of national oppression or resisting oppression, are without doubt essentially class issues. The brilliant exposition, in which Karl Marx stated, "In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to," was talking about precisely this. In 1949, the establishment of New China led to the overthrow of the system of class oppression, and oppression between nationalities came to an end. The system of class oppression was eliminated among the Han and some minority nationalities

[15] This does not include the tiny number of minority nationality workers.

[16] Marx and Engels (1977), p. 229.

[17] Stalin (1954c), p. 49.

[18] Lenin (1968), p. 603.

[19] A quote from a secondary source: Ya Hanzhang (1983).

through land reforms, democratic reforms, and the socialist transformation, which changed the relationship between nationalities and led to the situation discussed by Marx: "In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end." However, by the late 1950s, some minority nationality areas in China had not completely eliminated, and some had not even begun to get rid of, the system of class rule. This meant that, to a certain extent, there still existed hostile relations created by national oppression under a class society. Eliminating these hostile relations between China's nationalities was the mission of the CPC.

Following the insurrection in Tibet, Mao Zedong pointed out, "It was originally said that the issue of reform would be discussed after 1962, but they are firing their guns so we will bring the reforms forward four years. As such, the fighting is a good thing."[20] With regard to this period of history, many foreign "Tibetologists" have reverted to conspiracy theories to explain the rebellion, believing that the central government carried out a "secret military deployment" beforehand and made political and propaganda arrangements in preparation for implementing their long-term plan of a "decisive battle."[21] In fact, Mao Zedong and the Party Central Committee had repeatedly explained in no uncertain terms that there was no question about whether or not reforms would be implemented in Tibet, but merely a question of when. This was an issue that would inevitably be resolved in New China under the leadership of the CPC, as well as an issue that needed to be resolved in order to safeguard the fundamental interests of the Chinese nation. As a result, the incident determined the timeframe for carrying out reforms in Tibet. In other words, the Dalai Lama and the rulers of Tibet chose the timeframe themselves. However, without doubt, the harsh facts of the rebellion in Tibet strengthened the Party's understanding of class struggle in the socialist period.

In fact, by the end of autumn and start of winter of 1958, the CPC Central Committee had begun to uncover problems with the Great Leap Forward and the people's commune movement and, in the course of correcting "leftist" errors, began to discuss fundamental theoretical questions such as what building socialism meant and the content of socialism. During the almost 9 months of correcting "leftist" errors, although the Party clarified some of the issues surrounding absolute egalitarianism, the tendency to exaggerate productivity, and unrealistic production targets, and adopted appropriate measures to curb such practices, the Party failed to correct people's understanding of class struggle as a major social contradiction, which had persisted since the anti-rightist movement. Instead, the Party did a U-turn at the Lushan Conference from rectifying "leftist" errors to adopting an anti-rightist stance. By 1960, faced with the economic and social tensions created by the Great Leap Forward, the CPC began to make sweeping changes. These changes, which were symbolized by the "Conference of the Seven Thousand People" in January 1962, affected every aspect of society, including nationality affairs, the united front, and religion. In April that year, the Nationalities Committee of the National People's

[20] Mao Zedong (2008), p. 190.

[21] Li Jianglin (2010), Preface, p. X.

Congress and the State Ethnic Affairs Commission held a joint National Work Conference at which they decided,

> *The serious shortcomings and errors that have occurred in nationalities work over the past several years have mainly arisen as the result of not attaching importance to nationality issues in the course of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, namely ignoring nationality traits and religious issues, economic issues in minority nationality areas, the equal rights and right of autonomy of minority nationalities, and united front issues related to national religious elites.*

The conference went on to propose the following tasks for nationality work over the next 5 years: adjusting relations between nationalities including adjusting relationships between various classes and strata within nationalities and strengthening national unity, and concentrating efforts on restoring and developing production and improving people's lives. Not everything needed to be handled urgently and some matters should not have been handled within or even postponed beyond the 5 years. For example, affairs related to national autonomous areas, especially issues related to the economies, culture, language, and customs of such areas, should have been handled by the people and cadres of minority nationalities; people's communes and cooperatives should have been run in accordance with the particular situation in each minority nationality area, including postponing their implementation in areas where conditions were not yet ripe, and radical practices in some border regions should have been abolished. In response to the meeting, the CPC Central Committee pointed out that,

> *Thoroughly resolving nationality issues will take a long time, so we must carry out long-term work in order to achieve their resolution. If we fail to recognize their long-term character, do not attach importance to nationality issues in the course of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, do not give consideration to the characteristics of nationalities and regions, and do not act in accordance with the Party's policies, we are bound to make mistakes in our work.*[22]

As a result of this, nationality work regained momentum.

However, 1962 was not a quiet year. Against a backdrop of deteriorating Sino-Russian relations, in April and May an illegal exodus to the Soviet Union took place from Xinjiang incited by the Soviet consulate in Ghulja. In total 74,570 people from the Ili and Qoqek prefectures illegally crossed into Soviet Russia with more than 230,000 head of livestock.[23] During this period, not only were warehouses, shops, and other public property looted, the local government was attacked, weapons were snatched, a number of people were shot, and organs of the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture People's Committee were destroyed. "These practices were not ordinary trouble, but a long-planned major political conspiracy."[24] This incident cast a dark shadow of class struggle over the Party's recently adjusted nationality affairs work.

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[22] The CPC Central Committee's Party Literature Research Office (2011), p. 627.

[23] Cf. Shen Zhihua (2007), p. 311.

[24] "Order of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Regional People's Committee and the Main Publicity Efforts of the Region's Party Committee," the CPC Central Committee's Party Literature Research Office and the CPC Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Regional Committee (eds.), *Selected Working*

In July 1962, the CPC Central Committee held a working conference in Beidaihe, at which Mao Zedong highlighted in his speech the three issues of "class," "situations," and "contradictions." On the issue of class, Mao raised the questions: "Are there really classes;" "Do classes exist;" and "Do classes still exist in socialist countries?" He also stated: "Will revisionism definitely not appear in China? It is hard to say."[25] The 10th Plenary Session of the 8th CPC Central Committee held in August and September of that year set the tone for a recommitment to class struggle. The meeting explained from a theoretical perspective that class struggle had been present throughout the entire historical period of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and "taking class struggle as the key link" was designated the Party's ideological and theoretical basis for political mobilization. Although this shift was the result of a series of intricate international factors, including the Sino-Soviet split, the situation in the Taiwan Strait, the Sino-Indian border conflict, the US invasion of Vietnam, and especially concerns within the Party that revisionism would appear, it eventually led to Mao Zedong launching the Cultural Revolution in 1966.

The decade of the Cultural Revolution was the most tragic decade in the CPC's exploration of the path of socialist construction, and a decade in which "Leftist" errors developed to an extreme. In 1963, in reference to the American civil rights movement, Mao Zedong stated, "Ethnic struggles are ultimately class struggles." This approach was naturally applied indiscriminately to China's nationality issues during the frenetic years of the Cultural Revolution when Mao Zedong's pronouncements were taken as the highest directives. The notion that "In a class society, nationality issues are essentially class issues," was simplified into the phrase, "Nationality issues are essentially class struggle." In fact, under the situation at the time, there was no difference between the "simplified" and "non-simplified" versions, because the slogan "take class struggle as the key link" was based on the idea that China was a large with a class society in a life-and-death contest between "two classes" and "two paths." Errors of judgment on overall social issues inevitably led to misjudgments on almost all social issues including nationality issues.

Guided by this proposition, the Party's nationality work, like its other undertakings, was affected negatively, and nationality policies established between the founding of the People's Republic of China and 1957, including those on the system of regional national autonomy, the corps of national minority cadres, national minority patriots in upper-level positions, and the united front, were seriously damaged. In 1965, the same year as the Tibet Autonomous Region was established, the Culture Revolution began, the atmosphere of which had a direct effect on the implementation of the Party's nationality and religious policies and resulted in the Red Guards destroying a large number of temples. Although some of these issues were dealt with in 1972 with the criticism of Ultra-leftist thinking, resulting in "policies on nationalities being restored to some extent, some misjudged cases being rectified,

*Documents of Xinjiang* (1949–2010), Central Party Literature Publishing House, Beijing, 2010, pp. 218–219.

[25] Cf. Jin Chongji (2009), pp. 948–949.

and relations between nationalities that had been severely damaged during the Cultural Revolution showing improvement,"[26] the Cultural Revolution was not over and the Party and state were unable to find their way back to the correct path of socialist construction.

Deng Xiaoping later said of the Great Leap Forward and people's commune movement in 1958 and the Cultural Revolution that followed, "They were totally incompatible with objective conditions and we got carried away and tried to develop too rapidly. In fact, beginning in the latter half of 1957 we departed from the line set at the Eighth National Congress of the Party, and we persisted in this 'Left' deviation up to 1976, a period of nearly 20 years. This 'Left' deviation culminated in the Cultural Revolution."[27] The Cultural Revolution was a catastrophe in which people from all the country's nationalities suffered, and not just those from minority nationalities. "Taking class struggle as the key link," not only produced the slogan "nationality issues are essentially class issues" and the serious errors this engendered, but created even worse manifestations in Han areas; it not only led to serious losses in nationality work, but led to serious losses in all fields and industries; and it not only seriously harmed relations between nationalities, but seriously harmed all types of relations throughout society. On this matter, Deng Xiaoping pointed out, "As for the harm done to minority nationalities during the Cultural Revolution, that sort of thing can't be used as evidence that we discriminate against them. In those years it was not just the minorities that suffered; it was the Han nationality that was hit hardest. The majority of the revolutionaries of the older generation, nearly all Han, were toppled, including myself."[28] This was the result of a serious misjudgment of the overall issues (basic contradictions) involved in socialist construction. By failing to resolve these overall issues, it was impossible for China's socialist construction to move forward and to deal with and resolve nationality issues. The overall issues only began to be resolved at the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

## 4.2 The Primary Stage of Socialism and Nationality Issues

### *4.2.1 Setting Things to Rights and Reform and Opening Up*

In 1976, the Cultural Revolution came to an end with the smashing of the Gang of Four. The political, economic, cultural, ideological, social, and psychological confusion caused by the decade-long Cultural Revolution meant there was an urgent need to set things to rights theoretically and practically. To the CPC, which was guided by Marxism, there was no way to set things to rights other than upholding and carrying forward the spirit of seeking truth from facts, given that the very

[26] The CPC Central Committee's Party Literature Research Office (2011), p. 871.

[27] Deng Xiaoping (1993a), p. 254.

[28] Deng Xiaoping, "China's Policy, Based on the Equality of Nationalities, Is to Accelerate Development in Tibet," *ibid.*, p. 246.

essence of Marxism is about just that. Upholding the spirit of seeking truth from facts demands eliminating superstitions and emancipating the mind. However, the Cultural Revolution had created all kinds of superstitions, such as those bound up with Mao's personality cult. The blind faith in Mao illustrated by the "two whatevers" ("We will resolutely uphold whatever policy decisions Chairman Mao made, and unswervingly follow whatever instructions Chairman Mao gave.") is a prime example of a superstition left over from the Cultural Revolution.

In May 1978, publication of the article "Practice is the Sole Criterion for Testing Truth" was a prelude to the emancipating of minds. The discussion that the article engendered in ideological and theoretical circles sent shockwaves through the country. The discussion was about the ideological and theoretical struggle against the "two whatevers." At the same time, it was a precondition for completely and accurately understanding Mao Zedong Thought. With regards to the "two whatevers," Deng Xiaoping pointed out, "Can this be called holding high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought? Certainly not! If this goes on, it will debase Mao Zedong Thought. The fundamental point of Mao Zedong Thought is seeking truth from facts and integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution."[29] At the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in December 1978, Deng Xiaoping went on to point out, "When everything has to be done by the book, when thinking turns rigid and blind faith is the fashion, it is impossible for a party or a nation to make progress. Its life will cease and that party or nation will perish."[30] The 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee was a historically significant turning point in China's exploration of the path of socialist construction. The meeting reestablished the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, shifted the focus of the Party and country from "taking class struggle as the key link" to the socialist modernization drive, and introduced the fundamental state policy of reform and opening up.

After the meeting, the CPC began setting things to rights in every area of society by ideologically, theoretically, and practically rectifying past mistakes to achieve stability and unity and creating the conditions for establishing normal social relations. On the issue of class during the period of Chinese socialist construction, Deng Xiaoping provided a series of expositions, including a new interpretation of relations between nationalities in China:

> *Through democratic reform and socialist transformation, all fraternal nationalities in China one after another have long since taken the socialist road, and they have formed a new, socialist type of relationship among themselves – a relationship of unity, fraternity, mutual assistance and co-operation…. In the course of bringing about the four modernizations, the nationalities will achieve an even greater degree of socialist unanimity and their unity will become stronger and stronger.*[31]

[29] Deng Xiaoping (1994), p. 126.

[30] Deng Xiaoping, "Emancipate the Mind, Seek Truth from Facts and Unite as One in Looking to the Future," *ibid.*, p. 143.

[31] Deng Xiaoping, "The United Front and the Tasks of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in the New Period," *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 186.

Regardless of the type of problems that existed in the process of democratic reform and socialist transformation, it can be said that after the democratic reforms in Tibet and the establishment of the autonomous region in 1959, the problems associated with the class systems of each minority nationality had been eradicated. Of this there can be no doubt. It was precisely because of this fact that Deng Xiaoping proposed "a new type of relationship among nationalities." At the same time, in the "Summary of the Tibet Work Conference," the Party Central Committee addressed the slogan "nationality issues are essentially class issues" that was popular during the Cultural Revolution by stating unequivocally that it was an erroneous statement. On July 15, 1980, the *People's Daily* published an article by a guest commentator titled "Comments on the Notion that 'Nationality Issues are Essentially Class Issues,'" which fundamentally rejected the statement. This was an ideological and theoretical issue that needed to be addressed in order to set nationality work back on the correct path. On this basis, the Party and country's nationality work was able to resume, cases in which people were unjustly charged were straightened out, the Party's nationality and religious policies were implemented, relations between nationalities were adjusted, and work that had been interrupted by the Gang of Four during the Cultural Revolution, such as establishing national autonomous areas (in Inner Mongolia, for example), was resumed.

In June 1981, the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee passed the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party since the Founding of the People's Republic of China." The resolution, the formulation of which was presided over by Deng Xiaoping, summed up the historical experience of socialist revolution and construction since the founding of New China, scientifically evaluated Mao Zedong's historical status, and determined the correct path of socialist modernization suited to China's particular national conditions, which played a huge role in unifying the people of the whole Party and country. The resolution also determined the basic nature of the relationship between China's various nationalities: "It must be clearly recognized that the current relationship among China's nationalities is basically the relationship between the working people of each nationality." Among the amendments to the constitution in 1982, the nature and characteristics of this relationship were summarized as follows: "Socialist relationships of equality, solidarity and mutual assistance have already been established among the nationalities." The formation of this resolution marked the completion of the historic task of setting things to rights.

Setting things to rights involved ideologically, politically, and organizationally rectifying past mistakes, and carrying on and developing correct principles and policies that had been established in the past. Reform and opening up was based on reality and explored future innovation, and was intended to allow the self-improvement of the socialist system and constantly enhance the effectiveness and superiority of the socialist system. The Party even admitted that, "The Chinese Communist Party also makes mistakes every now and then. Nevertheless, we closely examine the causes of these mistakes and try to correct them without delay."[32] This

[32] Deng Xiaoping, "Integrate Marxism-Leninism with the Concrete Conditions of China," *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. I, p. 260.

was an area in which the CPC differed from the CPSU, and a reason the CPC did not fall in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the dramatic changes that took place in Eastern Europe.

### *4.2.2 Formulating and Promulgating the Law on Regional National Autonomy*

Regional national autonomy was a basic policy for resolving nationality issues established by the CPC in the course of revolutionary praxis to explore how to establish a unified multi-nationality country. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, this system began to be implemented based on the "Outline for Implementing Regional National Autonomy in the People's Republic of China" adopted by the Government Administration Council in 1952. Though the implementation outline was not entirely compatible with the system in place, it nevertheless played an important role in comprehensively pushing forward implementation of the system of regional national autonomy, and the basic pattern for setting up national autonomous areas was formed with the establishment of the Tibet Autonomous Region in 1965. However, from the start of the Anti-Rightist Campaign in 1957, not only doubts arose about the necessity of implementing the system of regional national autonomy, and but those who called for the implementation of this system were also criticized for opposing making faster progress and regarding minority nationality areas as special ones. During that period, the system of regional national autonomy did not play the role it was intended to, and apart from the establishment of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, only a framework was established for setting up the other autonomous regions. How to implement and exercise the right to self-government was still being explored. But even this modest base was seriously eroded during the Cultural Revolution, and "revolutionary" campaigns to seize power as well as phenomenon such as abolishing and dividing autonomous areas were not uncommon. As a result, improving the system of regional national autonomy institutionally and protecting it legally became a major task in the process of reform and opening up.

In 1980, the CPC Central Committee handed its proposal for constitutional amendments to the 3rd Plenary Session of the 5th National People's Congress, which included the following basic principle: "Regional national autonomy should be practiced in all areas where people of minority nationalities live in concentrated communities."[33] In order to genuinely implement regional national autonomy, the right of autonomy of a minority nationality area must be guaranteed and implemented, and autonomous powers, rights, and interests must be regulated and guaranteed by law. In August 1981, while on a work inspection in Xinjiang, Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "The fundamental issue in Xinjiang is whether to make it a

[33] Deng Xiaoping, "On the Reform of the System of Party and State Leadership," *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. II, p. 339.

republic or an autonomous area. We need to legally enshrine the implementation of the system of regional national autonomy in order to solve this issue legally."[34]

On May 31, 1984, the Law of the People's Republic of China on Regional National Autonomy was adopted at the 2nd Plenary Session of the 6th National People's Congress. This was a fundamental law enacted in accordance with the principles of the nation's constitution. The promulgation of this law meant that the system of regional autonomy, which was first implemented in 1947, achieved political and legal unity, thereby providing a legal basis for the system of regional national autonomy. The law stated,

> *Regional national autonomy is the basic policy adopted by the Communist Party of China for the solution of the national question in China through its application of Marxism-Leninism; it is an important political system of the state. Regional national autonomy means that the minority nationalities, under unified state leadership, practise regional autonomy in areas where they live in concentrated communities and set up organs of self-government for the exercise of the power of autonomy. Regional national autonomy embodies the state's full respect for and guarantee of the right of the minority nationalities to administer their internal affairs and its adherence to the principle of equality, unity and common prosperity for all its nationalities.*[35]

The enactment of this law meant that the path for solving nationality issues – the system of regional national autonomy – had become an integral part of China's system of government and legal system, and a number of important policies on nationalities that had been implemented in the past were included in the provisions of the law. The law achieved the following:

- standardized the administrative levels of areas exercising regional national autonomy; stipulated that the name of a national autonomous region, prefecture, and county (banner) shall be composed of the name of the locality and the name of the nationality and the administrative status, in that order; made it clear that organs of self-government are local organs of state power at a particular level that consist of a people's congress and people's government of the autonomous areas at each level; and stipulated that the chairman of an autonomous region, the prefect of an autonomous prefecture, or the head of an autonomous county shall be a citizen of the nationality exercising regional autonomy in the area concerned;
- stipulated that the organs of self-government of national autonomous areas must uphold the unity of the country and guarantee that the Constitution and laws are observed and implemented in their areas, and stipulated that once established, national autonomous areas may not be abolished or merged without authorization, and that once defined, the boundaries of a national autonomous area may not be altered without authorization; gave national autonomous areas the power to enact regulations on the exercise of autonomy and separate regulations in the

[34] Deng Xiaoping (2010a), p. 252.

[35] "The Law of the People's Republic of China on Regional National Autonomy," the CPC Central Committee's Party Literature Research Office and the CPC Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Regional Committee (eds.), *Selected Working Documents of Xinjiang* (1949–2010), Central Party Literature Publishing House, Beijing, 2010, p. 263. (will not be footnoted again in subsequent references)

light of the political, economic, and cultural characteristics of the nationality or nationalities in the areas concerned; conferred on the organs of self-government of national autonomous areas, on the principle of not contravening the Constitution and the laws, the power to adopt special policies and flexible measures in light of local conditions to speed up economic and cultural development in those areas; and gave the organ of self-government of an area, if a resolution, decision, order, or instruction of a state organ at a higher level does not suit the conditions in a national autonomous area, the power to either implement it with certain alterations or cease implementing it after reporting to and receiving approval of the state organ at a higher level;

- stipulated that under the guidance of state plans, the organs of self-government of national autonomous areas may, based on local characteristics and requirements, formulate economic development principles, policies, and plans, and independently arrange for and administer local economic development, and that this right to autonomy was extended to grasslands, forests, and other natural resources, as well as various other aspects including enterprises, programs, trade, public finance, taxation, education, culture, science and technology, healthcare, and sports;
- stipulated that national autonomous areas shall guarantee the freedom of the nationalities in these areas to use and develop their own spoken and written languages and their freedom to preserve or reform their own ways and customs and guarantee the freedom of religious belief to citizens of the various nationalities, and demanded that while performing its functions, the organ of self-government of a national autonomous area shall, in accordance with the regulations on the exercise of autonomy of the area, use one or several languages commonly used in the locality and safeguard the right of every nationality to use the language and writing system of their nationality in the administration of law and the course of legal proceedings, and specified the laws and regulations national autonomous areas must observe in dealing with relationships between nationalities;
- stipulated the responsibilities and duties of higher level state organs in implementing the Law on Regional National Autonomy, demanded that they take into consideration the characteristics and requirements of national autonomous areas when formulating national economic and social development plans, and stipulated the arrangements for infrastructure construction and resource development as well as the policy requirements for establishing investment and special funds, formulating various preferential policies, and training a corps of cadres and personnel from minority nationalities.

The enactment of this law, and the amendments made to it in 2001 based on the need to adapt it to the socialist market economy and implement the large-scale development strategy for the Western region following the development of China's reform and opening up, provided guarantees for developing and improving the system of regional national autonomy. The formulation of this law was not only a major achievement in setting things to rights after the Cultural Revolution, but a significant measure for the self-improvement of the socialist system in the course of reform and

opening up. It demonstrated the political and legal superiority of the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics in resolving nationality issues, and it was an important manifestation of the development of political democracy. As Deng Xiaoping pointed out, "In dealing with the problem of minority nationalities, China has not adopted a federal system of separate republics but a system of autonomous regions. We believe this system works quite well and is consistent with conditions in China. In short, we have many advantages which make our socialist system superior and which must not be abandoned."[36] Therefore, upholding and improving the system of regional national autonomy is a continuing basic national policy of the CPC.

### *4.2.3 "Two Issues of Overriding Importance" with Economic Development as the Central Task*

After the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, which designated the "two issues of overriding importance" as the focus of economic construction, the focus of the Party's work shifted to socialist modernization, while taking economic development as the central task, emancipating people's minds, implementing reform and opening up, and striving to develop the productive forces became the guiding ideology of the whole Party and for mobilizing the entire country. The Constitution, which was promulgated in 1982, provided for the establishment of township-, nationality township-, and town-level people's congresses and people's governments, and it achieved significant results in promoting reform of the contract responsibility system in rural areas. This not only helped break down the traditional barriers of antagonism between the planned economy and commodity economy, it also signaled the end of the old system of political and social unity–people's communes. The reform played an important role in liberating the productive forces in minority nationality and pastoral areas, mobilizing people's enthusiasm, and promoting economic development.

China's new-democratic revolution was established on the basic strategy of surrounding the cities from the countryside, which was determined by China's national conditions. Reform and opening up was also launched in China's rural areas, and was determined by China's national conditions. China is a large agricultural country and farmers make up the main body of China's population, and the vast majority of the populations of minority nationalities are engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry. If one can say that the new-democratic revolution period established the alliance of workers and peasants as well as united and relied on the vast numbers of farmers to resolve ethnic problems that arose as a consequence of imperialist aggression by launching a peasant movement to overthrow the feudal system and system of oppression of nationalities, one could also say that resolving farmers' problems was the main task in the process of socialist construction. This was the basis for

[36] Deng Xiaoping (1993b), p. 257.

solving nationality issues and the basis for establishing even, united, and mutually beneficial socialist relations between nationalities. In the course of building socialism, "nationality issues are essentially an issue of farmers" was epitomized in the relationship between workers from different nationalities. For a multinational country to resolve problems for farmers of all nationalities, at the time, meant solving the problem of having adequate food and clothing. This was of fundamental significance for solving nationality issues.

After the 12th Party Congress, China entered a new stage of comprehensive reform, with reforms being launched in cities and every walk of life. The establishment of special economic zones in some coastal areas, in particular, created a new picture of prosperity in China. At the same time, it established the economic pattern of rapid development driven by China's southeast coastal regions. The report of the 12th Party Congress pointed out, "For a multinational country like ours, national unity, national equality and the common prosperity of every nationality are major issues related to the fate of the country." Understanding the equality and unity of all nationalities and emphasizing the common development and prosperity of every nationality from the lofty political perspective of national fate became the CPC's new interpretation of the importance of nationalities issues in the process of the cause of socialist modernization. The 13th Party Congress was a meeting with great theoretical and practical significance for China's reform and opening up because it not only provided a scientific exposition of the historical stages of building socialism in China, but also established the basic line that the whole Party must unswervingly adhere to the "one central task and two basic points" during the current stage, and illuminated the three-step strategic plan and tasks for achieving socialist modernization in China: "China is in…the primary stage of socialism. Socialism itself is the first stage of communism, and here in China we are still in the primary stage of socialism – that is, the underdeveloped stage. In everything we do we must proceed from this reality, and all planning must be consistent with it."[37] The theory of the primary stage of socialism is the CPC's overall perspective of China's basic national situation in the course of socialist modernization and a foundation for answering the major questions of what socialism is and how to build it.

The basic characteristics of the primary stage of socialism are determined by the overall social issue (basic contradiction) of this stage, which is "the problem between the ever-growing material and cultural needs of the people and our backward social production." In order to solve this problem, it is necessary to adhere to the basic line of "one central task and two basic points" and gradually implement the three-step development strategy. However, for a country with a vast territory and large population like China, it is not possible to achieve and support large-scale, nationwide and synchronized economic development. Therefore, allowing one region to develop first and accumulate wealth in order to strengthen the country and create the environment and provide experience to spur the development of other areas was a pragmatic scientific choice rooted in the primary stage of socialism.

[37] Deng Xiaoping, "In Everything We Do We Must Proceed from the Realities of the Primary Stage of Socialism," *ibid.*, p. 252.

In 1988, Deng Xiaoping proposed the "two issues of overriding importance" for reform and opening up based on China's national conditions:

> *The coastal areas, which comprise a vast region with a population of 200 million, should accelerate their opening to the outside world, and we should help them develop rapidly first; afterwards they can promote the development of the interior. The development of the coastal areas is of overriding importance, and the interior provinces should subordinate themselves to it. When the coastal areas have developed to a certain extent, they will be required to give still more help to the interior. Then, the development of the interior provinces will be of overriding importance, and the coastal areas will in turn have to subordinate themselves to it.*[38]

The implementation of the "two issues of overriding importance" development strategy meant the economy of the southeast coastal region developed rapidly. But this did not mean the government had chosen to neglect the hinterland, including the western regions with their high concentrations of minority nationalities.

In fact, after the Cultural Revolution ended, the Party and state made supporting the economic development of minority nationality areas an important element of efforts to resurrect and implement their policy on nationalities. They also adopted a series of measures to promote economic development in areas with concentrations of minority nationalities, for example, granting subsidies for developing frontier regions in 1977 and implementing the "Frontier Development Plan (draft)" in 1979, which proposed establishing a 40 billion yuan fund within 8 years for developing frontier regions; adopting the policy of pairing assistance proposed at the national border defense meeting held that same year, under which Beijing assisted Inner Mongolia, Hebei assisted Guizhou, Jiangsu assisted Guangxi and Xinjiang, Shandong assisted Qinghai, Shanghai assisted Yunnan and Ningxia, and the whole country assisted Tibet; establishing a development fund to assist economically underdeveloped areas in 1980, and identifying 27 national key poverty-stricken pastoral counties in need of support at a national work conference on pastoral work in 1987 and granting soft loans to pastoral areas to aid poverty alleviation; and implementing a central government subsidy system that increased by 10 % annually between 1980 and 1988 to help five autonomous regions and Guizhou, Yunnan, and Qinghai provinces due to their relatively high concentrations of minority nationalities. At the same time, the Party and state adopted different economic development policies for different regions. For example, from 1984 onward, policies were implemented in the Tibet Autonomous Region that returned land to families in agricultural areas and livestock to families in pastoral areas so that both could manage them independently, that reduced or remitted taxes for Tibetans and farmers and herdsmen, and that invested 480 million yuan of funds from the national treasury and nine provinces and cities across China on 43 construction projects in Tibet between 1984 and 1994.[39]

In the course of implementing the "two issues of overriding importance," although state investment in the eastern part of China included government

[38] Deng Xiaoping, "The Central Leadership Must Have Authority," *ibid.*, p. 277.

[39] "Regional National Autonomy in Tibet," Wang Chen (2010), p. 74.

investment, it also included policy investment to aid liberating the productive forces and opening up, which was established on the existing foundation of choices on the economy, science and technology, education, location, and the labor market. Under the conditions at the time, there was insufficient policy investment in the hinterland and western region to create an economic and social foundation. This is self-evident. By the 1990s, the economic gap between eastern regions and central and western regions was rapidly widening. Because of this, minority nationalities in autonomous areas, fuelled by the "sense of loss" of some cadres and ordinary people, stated that they did not need autonomous regions, but wanted special economic zones instead. This is understandable because their desire focused on the theme of nationality issues in the primary stage of socialism: the contradiction between the urgent requirement to accelerate development in minority nationality and national autonomous areas and the lack of capacity for self-development.

Marx and Engels believed,

> *The relations of different nations among themselves depend upon the extent to which each has developed its productive forces, the division of labour and internal intercourse. This statement is generally recognised. But not only the relation of one nation to others, but also the whole internal structure of the nation itself depends on the stage of development reached by its production and its internal and external intercourse. How far the productive forces of a nation are developed is shown most manifestly by the degree to which the division of labour has been carried.*[40]

In other words, the extent of division of labor within a nation and the subsequent development level of its productive forces, become the basic conditions for relations between nations and improving their comparative advantages. Following the founding of the People's Republic of China, especially since reform and opening up began, great strides have been taken in developing economic and social undertakings in minority nationality areas. However, the development of a regional economy does not fully represent the situation of a nation and the development of a region's people, and for farmers and herdsmen, who constitute a higher proportion of the population than Han Chinese, traditional means of economic production still generally continue and poverty remains widespread. Due to China's (including national autonomous areas) numerous restricting factors, such as its vast territory, natural geographic conditions, infrastructure, economic base, and capacity for teaching science and technology, despite having rich mineral and other natural resources, it cannot effectively exploit and utilize them relying solely on its own abilities. As such, the aim is to accelerate development in a step-by-step manner based on local conditions and the realities of each region and nationality. In this regard, in the process of promoting the development strategy of having the eastern region take the lead, the Party and country also gradually adjusted and intensified the implementation of policies aimed at accelerating the development of the western region, especially minority nationality areas.

As the country's economic strength increased substantially, beginning in the 1990s, the Party and state constantly intensified policies supporting development of

[40] Marx and Engels (1970), p. 43.

the western region, and minority nationality areas in particular. For example, in 1990, China established a "food and clothing fund for poverty-stricken areas of minority nationalities," which focused on supporting 141 poverty-stricken minority nationality counties. In 1994, the government implemented the 7-Year Priority Poverty Alleviation Program, which increased the number of poverty-stricken minority nationality counties that received assistance by 116 by relaxing the criteria for acceptance. In 1992, the government established a development fund for minority nationalities, and that same year, implemented an opening up strategy in China's border areas, designated 13 cities and 241 ports open to foreign trade, and established 14 border technology cooperation zones, which meant border trade became an important channel for stimulating regional markets and increasing the incomes of the people who live there. In 1994, with the exploitation of mineral resources in minority nationality areas, the state ordered that the profits from such resources should be split between the central government and autonomous regions 4:6 (the ratio was 5:5 in other provinces and cities). In 1996, the State Council selected 15 developed eastern provinces and cities to provide pairing aid to 11 western provinces (including autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government). The socialist idea of the substantive characteristics of common development and prosperity of each minority nationality and region, was thus gradually realized through the practice of a "two-step" strategy. In 1992, on the issue of closing the economic development gap between eastern coastal regions and the central and western regions, during his speech on the fundamental purpose of socialism being to achieve common prosperity during his tour of the south, Deng Xiaoping pointed out, "I can imagine that the right time might be the end of this century, when our people are living a moderately prosperous life."[41] Practice has shown Deng Xiaoping to be correct about the design and achievements of the reform and opening up development strategy.

### *4.2.4 Challenges Posed by the Collapse of the Soviet Union*

While China embarked on the path of and achieved remarkable results in reform and opening up, its former "big brother," the Soviet Union, also implemented reforms beginning in 1985. However, Gorbachev's reforms aimed at correcting past mistakes and pointing the way forward were not accepted by the whole of the CPSU, but rather based on his own social mobilization policy of *glasnost* ("openness"). As he said himself, "My trip to Leningrad in May 1985, in which there was unusual contact between leader and people, can be considered 'the first event of glasnost.' My speech, given without any notes or preliminary consultations with colleagues caused a lot of problems for the Politburo."[42] Khrushchev's "secret speech" delivered at the 20th Party Congress of the CPSU sent shockwaves through the

[41] Deng Xiaoping (1993c), p. 375.

[42] Gorbachev (2003), p. 369.

international communist movement and the West. Gorbachev's public speech criticizing various unseemly phenomena in the Party, the country, and society similarly drew strong reactions from Soviet society and the masses, as well as the attention of Eastern European countries and the Western world.

Reform in the Soviet Union was imperative, but though Gorbachev's reforms were labeled "revolution from above," they were not the common will of the CPSU leadership or the central authorities; therefore, *glasnost* became the determining factor in mobilizing "revolution from below" to support "revolution from above." He felt this was "one of the most reliable guarantees for successful and irreversible" reform.[43] However, when this so-called "democratic" social mobilization touched on "any issue, whether it is today's sore spot or tragic events in history, they can all become the target of analysis by the newspapers."[44] All sorts of social contradictions erupted with the exposure of and complaints about "tragic events," including pent-up contradictions between nationalities.

In 1986, riots in the Kazakh city of Almaty were a prelude to further conflicts between nationalities during the implementation of Soviet reforms. On the back of them, in 1987, "under *glasnost* and democratization, the Crimean Tatar movement adopted an organized and resolute approach," which involved camping out and protesting in Red Square. Subsequently, nationalist organizations were established in the Baltic States, and conflicts erupted in Nagorno-Karabakh, Tbilisi, Fergana, and Baku. The full-blown eruption of Soviet nationality issues played an important role in triggering social unrest, accelerating political evolution, provoking conflicts between nationalities, and creating friction between states. A series of nationalistic protests against the union by non-Russian peoples, reduced the dominant national chauvinism of the Russian people, who represented the Soviet Union. In particular, "in Russia, after the Liberal Democrats came to power, one chauvinistic group appeared after another. What's more, there were still some in society who supported fascism – they used nationalist slogans and flaunted the banner of caring about the interests of the Russian people,"[45] and their "extremely aggressive nationalism" exacerbated the separatist movement among all the nationalities of the Soviet Union.[46] Boris Yeltsin (of the Liberal Democrat Party) and Vladimir Zhirinovsky (an extreme nationalist) were representatives of this. Consequently, in 1990, every republic that had joined issued a declaration of sovereignty. The Russian Federal Republic's "declaration of sovereignty" became "the most serious attack on national unity," "It was this action that signaled the end of the center of power and administration of the entire Soviet Union. As a result, it created the conditions for destroying national unity."[47]

During the reform process in the Soviet Union, the contraction of Greater Russian nationalism from socialization to nationalization also meant a contraction

[43] Gorbachev (1987), p. 65.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 94.

[45] Ryzhkov (1988), p. 36.

[46] *Ibid.*

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union from "the Soviet model" to "domestic reform." While mobilizing reform in Eastern European countries, Gorbachev explained to member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon) that the Soviet Union would no longer play the role of "big brother." "With the pride of a discoverer, he talked about equality and mutual responsibility and the independence of each Party and country."[48] "He kept a close eye on the developing situations in Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic and the German Democratic Republic and uttered the famous phrase that "Life punishes those who come too late"[49] to promote reform in Eastern European countries. These countries, which had already experienced social unrest, were seen as ripe for reform, and the Soviet embassies in these countries even became centers for guiding reform. Under the reform situation within Soviet countries and Gorbachev's reform mobilization in Eastern European countries, various social contradictions within Eastern European countries erupted. These countries, which had implemented a quasi-Soviet model, experienced the same or similar problems to the Soviet Union, including nationality issues. In 1989, more than 200,000 Bulgarian Turks slaughtered their livestock and sold their possessions before crossing the border into Turkey.[50] This was then used by the Democratic Party in Bulgaria as a pretext for overthrowing the Communist Party. Around the same time, bloodshed in the Romanian city of Timisoara, which had a large population of Hungarians, sparked demonstrations and unrest and led to the execution of the Ceaucescus within days. The changes that occurred in these countries were related to nationality issues. During the disintegration of the Soviet Union and drastic changes that occurred in Eastern Europe, though one could call the division of Czechoslovakia into two countries a "peaceful separation," the breakup of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was a most brutal tragedy.[51] The country was divided into seven countries until the declaration of independence in Kosovo in 2008.

There were many reasons for the demise of the three multinational federal states of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, but the failure to resolve nationality issues was a common feature in all three cases. Their disintegration followed the path advocated by Gorbachev of *glasnost* (openness), "the values of all mankind" and *demokratizatsiya* (democratization),[52] but there is no doubt that the final break up into independent countries was caused by the promotion of nationalism. Of these, in the cases of the separation of the 15 former Soviet republics of the Russian Federation and the breakup of the Czech Republic and Slovakia, as well as the splitting off of Slovenia and Croatia from Yugoslavia and former socialist countries leaving the Soviet camp, the banners of nationalist politics were covered in anti-Soviet, anti-communist, and anti-socialist slogans.

[48] Zhivkov (1999), p. 256.
[49] Krenz (1991), pp. 76–77.
[50] Zhivkov (1999), p. 256.
[51] Cf. Hao Shiyuan (1999).
[52] Ryzhkov (1988), p. 18.

Recalling his biggest mistake, Todor Zhivkov stated, "I did not foresee the possibility of giving up the path of socialist development."[53] Nikolai Ryzhkov, meanwhile, felt that, "Our tragedy lay in the fact that we lost our "Soviet values," and we did not carry all the positive things from our past into the new period."[54] Egon Krenz vividly but sorrowfully stated that as more and more people "raised questions about the superiority of our social welfare policies… the hopes of the West accompanied us every day from their television commercials, parcels, small gifts, and from the supply of goods from our foreign exchange shops. Even children asked their shrugging parents, 'Why do we not have as much money as West Germany?'"[55] These former communist party senior politicians' reflections on the failure of building socialism in their respective countries are thought-provoking. As such, they have also given us a deeper understanding of the successful path taken by socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Of course, from the perspective of resolving nationality issues, in addition to the existence of these countries' errors, the US and other Western countries took advantage of the gap in the "Iron Curtain" to carry out long-term infiltration, which was also a motive for exacerbating nationality issues. After Gorbachev launched his *perestroika* movement, Zbigniew Brezinski was acutely aware that, "[T]he suppressed aspiration of East European nations and the internal national contradictions of the modern-day Great Russian empire provide the springboard for seeking two central and interdependent goals." Eastern Europe's political pluralism would lead to "the institutionalization of pluralism," and thus inevitably lead to "head-on conflicts" between non-Russian nationalities in the Baltic republics, mixed cultural areas in Belarusand Ukraine, and of course frontier areas of Caucasian and Central Asian republics and the Union's Russian-controlled political establishment. In this situation, "Any significant national self-assertion on the part of the non-Russians constitutes a challenge to Russian territorial preeminence." Once this state of affairs took shape, "The dismantling of the territorially contiguous Great Russian empire would threaten Russia itself." Therefore, the US wanted, first of all, for Eastern Europe to collapse, and it already had a diplomatic advantage in the geopolitical competition with the Soviet Union in Europe. Second, "Ideologically, it [the United States] should carry the torch into the Soviet realm, reinforcing the internal pressures for greater national codetermination."[56] Of course, in terms of the struggle for hegemony between the US and the Soviet Union, this was no longer done covertly but very much overtly.

In fact, from the moment the "iron curtain" fell, the US began this infiltration, and exploiting nationalist issues was one means they used to implement their strategy of peaceful evolution. This factor was obviously an external factor, and "if it was not for the internal 'fifth column' actually completely pursuing an agenda established by the Soviet Union's enemy, and we simply relied on foreign forces,

[53] Zhivkov (1999), p. 307.

[54] Ryzhkov (1988), p. 19.

[55] Krenz (1991), p. 155.

[56] Brzezinski (1986), pp. 231, 128, 267, 127, 247.

nobody could bring our country down."[57] This is correct, but if the development of internal political, economic, cultural, and social life does not reflect the superiorities of the socialist system "and issues raised by the people are passed around without being resolved, they will accumulate, which is a systemic problem."[58] This is also true. These countries, including the Soviet Union, did not answer the questions of what socialism is and how to build it, which meant they were unable to resolve nationality issues.

In any case, the disintegration of the former Soviet Union and the dramatic changes that took place in Eastern Europe, provided evidence for Samuel Huntington's "the third wave: democratization in the twentieth century." The evidence was that "democratization took ten years to complete in Poland, ten months in Hungary, ten weeks in East Germany, ten days in Czechoslovakia, and ten hours in Romania."[59] The event had a great impact on the world was because the wave of nationalism began in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and spread around the globe. This wave of nationalism that followed the end of the Cold War, after sweeping across the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, spread to multiple countries in Western Europe, North America, Africa, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and the islands of the Pacific.[60] This wave of nationalism also had a twofold effect on multinational socialist China, namely what Westerners called "the death of communism" and "the victory of nationalism over communism."

Before and after 1990, several forces began to emerge that directly threatened China's territorial integrity and the interests of the Chinese nation. Internationally the Dalai Lama and his group in exile stepped up their activities on the "Tibet issue," and the rapid development of so-called "international forces for aiding Tibet" exerted an influence on Tibet and Tibetan areas through various means; foreign "Taiwanese independence" forces returned to Taiwan and teamed up with Taiwanese independence forces on the island to change Taiwan's political environment; foreign "East Turkistan" forces became more active, and the Baren incident illustrated their intent to carry out terrorist attacks in Xinjiang; the rise of extreme nationalism in Mongolia and the five Central Asian countries, the establishment of the World Kazakhs' Assembly and the World Mongolians' Assembly, and Korean nationalist activities in Northeast Asia following the collapse of the Soviet Union, all had a varying impact on China. The Unites States and other Western countries also tried to take advantage of the atmosphere of sanctions following the "political storm" that took place in China in 1989, as well as the disintegration of the Soviet Union and drastic changes in Eastern Europe, to promote a so-called domino effect so that

[57] Ryzhkov (1988), p. 3.

[58] Krenz (1991), p. 155.

[59] Cf. Sameul P. Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Twentieth Century*, University of Oklahoma Press, p. 133.

[60] Cf. Hao Shiyuan, "An Analysis of the Three Nationalist Waves in the 20th Century," *World Ethno-National Studies*, No. 3, 1996; "Developments in the Worldwide Problem of Nationalities and Their Influence over the New Century," *World Ethno-National Studies*, No. 1, 2000; and "The Orientation of the Worldwide Problem of Nationalities in the 21st Century," *Social Sciences Abroad,* No. 1, 2001.

every multinational socialist country would follow in the Soviet Union's footsteps, and they implemented a strategy of westernizing and splitting China. China therefore faced serious challenges in terms of ethnic separatism.

Faced with a major change in the international situation brought about by the disintegration of the Soviet Union and drastic changes in Eastern Europe, the CPC remained calm. This was because China had already established a path to socialist development, which included resolving nationality issues. China's economic and social development and improvements in the people's lives that had been achieved since reform and opening up began proved that the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics was correct and effective, and the results of this development were being enjoyed by the people of every nationality. However, the fact that the Soviet Union, a country which had for so long competed with the United States, suddenly disintegrated and changed allegiance together with the whole of Eastern Europe, was certainly alarming. That the US and other Western countries' long-standing strategy of peaceful evolution succeeded in the Soviet Union was even more sobering. Moreover, the "political storm" of 1989 and the Western sanctions that followed created an acute awareness of a crisis among the people who were attempting to draw lessons from the experience of the Soviet Union and counter the strategy of peaceful evolution. This awareness was exacerbated by problems that had arisen in the process of China's reform and opening up, such as ideological ambiguity between the commodity economy and the market economy and between capitalism and socialism, and people became apprehensive about how to move forward with reform and opening up. In 1992, during his southern tour, Deng Xiaoping provided answers to a series of major questions people had been worrying about, and he also provided concise and eloquent answers to the questions of what socialism is and how to build it.

Deng Xiaoping stated that "development is the absolute principle," and the key to China solving any problem is relying on its own development. He also said the essence of communism is aiming to achieve common prosperity. These and other expositions by Deng Xiaoping helped inject new impetus into China's reform and opening up and pointed the way to common development and prosperity for all China's nationalities and regions. As a result, as the eastern regions rapidly developed, they also helped support development in western regions. He believed,

> *It is a big problem to find ways for the coastal areas to assist the inland areas. We can have one coastal province help one or two inland provinces. Nevertheless, we should not lay too heavy a burden on the coastal areas all at once. During the initial period they can just transfer certain technologies to the interior. Since the very beginning of the reform we have been emphasizing the need for seeking common prosperity; that will surely be the central issue someday. Socialism does not mean allowing a few people to grow rich while the overwhelming majority live in poverty. No, that's not socialism. The greatest superiority of socialism is that it enables all the people to prosper, and common prosperity is the essence of socialism. If polarization occurred, things would be different. The contradictions between nationalities, regions and classes would become sharper and, accordingly, the contradictions between the central and local authorities would also be intensified. That would lead to disturbances.*[61]

[61] Deng Xiaoping (1993d), p. 364.

Therefore, accelerating economic development, intensifying support to the interior and western regions, and adjusting the focus of economic development in a timely manner have already become strategies of the Party and country.

## 4.3 The Strategy for Developing the Western Region and Solving Nationality Issues

China's reform and opening up is a social transformation with the focus on economic construction. Over the past 20 years of economic development led by the eastern coastal region, China's capacity for independent development has greatly improved and its overall national strength has increased considerably. At the same time, this unbalanced regional economic development has widened the development gap between industry and agriculture, cities and rural areas, the eastern region and the western region, and the Han and minority nationalities. At the turn of the century, China entered a new period in which industry nurtured agriculture, cities supported rural areas, the eastern region assisted the western region, and every nationality developed and prospered together.

### *4.3.1 Guidelines for Nationality Work*

In 1999, on the 50th anniversary of the founding of New China, the CPC Central Committee convened a Central National Working Conference. The Conference proposed new tasks for carrying forward nationality affairs into the new century and made adjustments to the economic development strategy in order to achieve the common development and prosperity of all nationalities. In his report, Jiang Zemin pointed out, "All Party comrades must take strengthening national unity and promoting the common development and common prosperity of all nationalities as the guidelines for nationality work in the primary stage of socialism."[62] In other words, the guideline for nationality work in the primary stage of socialism was to resolve the major contradictions in China's nationality issues.

At the Central National Working Conference, Zhu Rongji stated, "The key to improving nationality work is accelerating the development of minority nationalities and minority nationality areas. We particularly need to boost the economy, which is the urgent desire of cadres and people from national minorities as well as the fundamental means for achieving common prosperity among every nationality and solving nationality issues."[63] As mentioned earlier, because of the contradiction

[62] Jiang Zemin (1999), p. 4. (will not be footnoted again in subsequent references)

[63] Zhu Rongji, "Accelerate the Development of Minority Nationalities and Minority Nationality Areas and Promote National Unity in the New Century," *ibid.*, p. 14. (will not be footnoted again in subsequent references)

between this "urgent desire" to accelerate development in minority nationality areas and the lack of self-development capability, in order to meet this urgent desire of all minority nationalities and the minority nationalities of autonomous areas, it was necessary to accelerate economic and social development in these areas. Only by accelerating development could they effectively eliminate the historical legacy of backward economic and social development, and reduce the ever-widening economic and social development gap. Therefore, Jiang Zemin emphasized, "Accelerating the development of minority nationalities and minority nationality areas is not only a major economic issue, but a major political issue." This statement is of great significance.

In both theory and practice, New China overthrew the old system at the national level and each nationality eradicated their old systems, which also helped to give each ethnic group equal political status. However, due to differences in the economic and cultural status of each nationality and social stratum, particularly those between people in cities and rural areas, the Han and minority nationalities, and the eastern and western regions, as well as the development gap in economic and cultural lives, there is "de facto inequality" when people share rights to social benefits. Therefore, in a socialist country, the announcement of "genuine national equality" is different from the announcement of national equality in a bourgeois democratic system. A socialist country must not only promote the actual equality of the working people of the formerly oppressed nations, but also remove all traces of distrust and alienation inherited from the epoch of capitalism.[64] These vestiges from the past were clearly reflected economically and culturally. The CPC had always attached importance to the issue of the economic development of minority nationalities and considered it a precondition for eliminating "actual inequality" and achieving "genuine equality" between all nationalities. As Zhou Enlai pointed out, "The most fundamental issue is helping minority nationalities to develop production and improve their lives. If minority nationalities do not develop economically, then that is not genuine equality. Therefore, to achieve genuine equality between all nationalities, we must help minority nationalities develop economically."[65]

Based on Lenin's ideas, Stalin said of the Soviet Union's nationality issues during the period of socialist construction, "Owing to the actual inequality (cultural, economic and political) inherited from the old bourgeois order, inequality between the more cultured and less cultured nations, the national question assumes a form which calls for the working out of measures that will help the labouring masses of the backward nations and nationalities to make economic, political and cultural progress, that will enable them to catch up with central – proletarian – Russia, which has forged ahead."[66] Therefore, the fundamental task for resolving nationality issues during the socialist period is to eliminate the development gap between the economic, cultural, and social lives of nationalities created by historical and social factors. This is because "actual inequality remains the basis of all the discontent and

[64] Lenin (1965), p. 127.

[65] Zhou Enlai (2010b), p. 145.

[66] Stalin (1954c), p. 44.

friction."[67] These explanations are true of the situation in the Soviet Union. The problem lies not in damaging the reputation of socialism by announcing the objective fact that there is "actual inequality" in a socialist country, but in whether or not it is possible to gain a scientific understanding and actively resolve this problem from the perspective that it affects the fate of the country. It is an objective fact that "actual inequality" will inevitably exist during the primary stage of socialism, and the "genuine equality" stressed by the Party and country is due to the existence of "actual inequality." Moreover, "actual inequality" not only exists between every nationality, but between each social stratum.

It is normal in a socialist multinational country for the economic and social development of nationalities to be unbalanced. The uneven development of various ethnic groups' productive forces for historical reasons is one reason for "actual inequality" to exist in a certain historical period of the stage of socialism between nationalities as well as a fundamental factor affecting the harmonious development of relations between nationalities. Under these circumstances, even if China theoretically issued a political declaration on achieving equality among all nationalities, and made legal, policy-based, and institutional arrangements to guarantee its enforcement, without being able to fundamentally eradicate the masses' "dissatisfaction and friction" generated by "actual inequality," it would ultimately lead to a political backlash. In other words, if "actual inequality" continues in the long term or is not clearly and effectively dealt with, and the "urgent desire" of all nationalities cannot be met, then the outcome foreseen by Krenz will come to pass: "[if] issues raised by the people are passed around without being resolved, they will accumulate and become a systemic problem."[68] In such a scenario, the West's use of nationality issues to promote peaceful evolution and provoke national antagonistic contradictions will be more likely to succeed.

The CPC's basic political system for resolving nationality issues is the system of regional national autonomy, which is guaranteed by the state's Basic Law. In his report at the Central National Working Conference, Jiang Zemin pointed out,

> *Regional national autonomy is a basic political system of China. It closely integrates the centralized, unified leadership of the state and regional autonomy of areas inhabited by minority nationalities and is imbued with great political vitality, and we must always uphold and constantly seek to improve it. At all times we must correctly grasp the relationship between safeguarding national unity and implementing regional national autonomy, and the state must protect the right of national autonomous areas to self-government in accordance with law. National autonomous areas must comprehensively implement the principles and policies of the Party and state, and carry out their work utilizing local practical creativity.*

This explanation of the importance of the system of regional national autonomy in China and its relationship with the centralized, unified leadership profoundly demonstrated that the system of regional national autonomy is an integral part of the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and that upholding, developing,

[67] *Ibid.*, 1953, p. 253.

[68] Krenz (1991), p. 155.

and improving the system of regional national autonomy is tantamount to upholding, developing, and improving the socialist system itself.

Of course, it must be upheld, developed, and improved in order to organically integrate this basic political system with the two basic principles of safeguarding the centralized, unified leadership of the state and the regional autonomy of areas inhabited by minority nationalities. The foundation for this integration can only be gradually laid by accelerating economic development among minority nationalities and autonomous areas with the strong support of the state. As such, the proposed guidelines for nationality work in the primary stage of socialism provided direction on how to uphold and improve the system of regional national autonomy and, therefore, how to uphold and improve the socialist system: through economic development, raising people's standard of living, and increasing overall national strength. The guidelines for nationality work in the primary stage of socialism reflected the CPC's basic ideas on the main contradictions in nationality issues during the long period of socialist construction. Deng Xiaoping's statement that regional national autonomy will exist in name only if economic affairs are not handled well, and Jiang Zemin's assertion that accelerating the economic and cultural development of minority nationalities is not only a major economic issue but a major political one, both deeply reflected the essence of socialism, which aims to achieve the common development and prosperity of all nationalities, and deeply reflected the fact that only by solving problems in economic development will the superiority of the system of regional national autonomy be unleashed. Faced with the failures of the former Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and other socialist multinational countries in resolving nationality issues, the CPC has constantly advocated the principle of "genuine national equality," which is not only reflected in its program of action for nationality work in the primary stage of socialism, but also in practical measures such as implementing the strategy for large-scale development of the western region.

### *4.3.2 Implementing the Strategy for Large-Scale Development of the Western Region*

In 1999, the Chinese government proposed new requirements for accelerating economic and social development in minority nationality areas, and set out their vision of the strategy for large-scale development of the western region beginning in 2000. Deng Xiaoping's thoughts on the "two issues of overriding importance" and the eastern region helping the western region develop, as well as his prediction that by the end of the twentieth century the development of the western region would be the central task, were in fact realized at the turn of the century. Jiang Zemin pointed out, "The conditions are already in place for accelerating development of the western region, particularly for implementing the strategy for large-scale development of the western region. Carrying out large-scale development of the western region will be

a major strategic task for developing this country in the next century." This signaled the start of a major strategic shift in China's economic and social development, from development led by the eastern region to coordinated regional economic development focused on the western region. Nationality issues cannot be resolved unless guaranteed by the political system, and the political system requires the support of an economic base. Developing the economy and raising people's living standards provide the material guarantees necessary for achieving equality among all nationalities and create the conditions for their common prosperity. The CPC Central Committee's proposal to accelerate development of the central and western regions, particularly the strategy for large-scale development of the western region, reflected the intrinsic characteristics of the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics and was an expression of the heartfelt wishes of cadres and the masses from minority nationalities and those of all nationalities from minority nationality areas, and it was an important policy decision in the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

China's western region is an economic and geographical concept. It comprises China's inland and border regions which lag behind the rest of China in economic and social development and lack the capacity for self-development. In his report to the 15th Party Congress, Jiang Zemin provided an insightful explanation of China's national conditions during the primary stage of socialism. He called it an underdeveloped society in which a large percentage of the population are farmers, the natural and semi-natural economy accounts for a large proportion of the entire economy, rates of literacy and semi-literacy remain high, there is a large proportion of poverty-stricken people, and uneven regional economic and cultural development exists. He also explained that these characteristics were particularly concentrated and prominent in areas where ethnic minorities are concentrated. The weakness of the economic base and the diversity and complexity of nationalities (human conditions) and areas (natural conditions) in the western region, especially border areas inhabited by minority nationalities, have made the task of accelerating development extremely difficult. It can, therefore, be said that the large-scale development of the western region is one of the greatest challenges facing China's modernization efforts and development strategy. The significant opportunity for accelerating development provided by the strategy for large-scale development of the western region and the restrictions on accelerating development presented by the actual foundation in the western region coexist. This requires from China a clear sense of urgency and of our historical responsibility as well as a need to proceed from reality by acting in accordance with objective laws in order to actively create the conditions for comprehensively pushing forward the strategy for the large-scale development of the western region in the course of its implementation.

If minority nationalities and minority nationality areas cannot prosper economically and achieve social progress in a united multicultural country with a long history such as China, then it will be impossible for the whole country to flourish and to achieve cultural prosperity. And if minority nationalities and minority nationality areas do not undergo modernization, it will not be possible to achieve modernization throughout the country. China has a vast territory, and its population and

resources are distributed unevenly. Allowing the southeastern coastal region to develop first in order to raise the country's overall economic strength and then switching to the implementation of the strategy for large-scale development of the western region is a scientific choice for achieving the common development and common prosperity of all China's nationalities. In the course of establishing a socialist market economy, eastern developed regions will become increasingly dependent on the western region due to the need for resources, capital investment, cheap labor, and a large, unified market, in order to continue developing. This was the scientific prediction of Deng Xiaoping, the chief architect of China's reform and opening up. It is also a prerequisite for moving onto the third strategic goal of China's modernization.

The total land area of the 12 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions included in the strategy for the large-scale development of the western region is 6.867 million square kilometers, which accounts for 71.5 % of China's total land area. Although the population of the western region only accounts for 27.9 % of China's total population,[69] its minority nationality population, which is 86.66 million, accounts for approximately 75 % of China's minority nationalities.[70] The five regions and the vast majority of autonomous prefectures and counties that have implemented the system of regional national autonomy are also located there. Therefore, the majority of the 12 provinces and regions included in the western development strategy are areas with concentrations of minority nationalities that have implemented the system of regional national autonomy. At the same time, because national autonomous areas (autonomous prefectures and counties) located in China's northeast, south, southwest, and north share the same economic and social development characteristics as the western region, they are also covered by the policy for developing the western region. In terms of area, population and the economy, the strategy for the large-scale development of the western region covers all autonomous areas of minority nationalities. This means that the western development strategy is closely related to nationality affairs, and one could even say that the strategy for developing the western region is China's most significant initiative for resolving nationality issues.

In his report, Zhu Rongji proposed striving to create favorable conditions for accelerating the development of ethnic minority areas and suggested making this and the development of the western region an important guiding principle for drawing up the 10th 5-Year Plan as well as long-term plans. He also proposed carrying out discussions on increasing investment, increasing and improving pairing assistance, and promoting opening up in both directions, as well as the main work needing done in the following areas: strengthening infrastructure construction in minority nationality areas; accelerating industrial restructuring and developing regional economies with distinctive characteristics; carrying out projects to protect virgin forests and for ecological and environmental conservation; concentrating forces to

[69] National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China (2010), p. 19.

[70] *Ibid*., p. 25.

increase poverty-alleviation work; and implementing the strategy of reinvigorating the country through science and actively promoting coordinated social and economic development in minority nationality areas. Following on from this, Zhu Rongji particularly emphasized that, "In the final analysis, achieving the comprehensive revitalization and development of minority nationalities and minority nationality areas depends on the efforts of cadres and the people living in such areas. They must wage an arduous struggle." This point is of great importance.

Practice has shown that opening up is a prerequisite for development; that, in the process of building a socialist market economy, minority nationalities and the areas where they are concentrated must constantly deepen reform and open wider to the outside world; and that these areas need to stimulate and cultivate self-reliance and the capacity for self-development with state support, assistance from more advanced regions, and by opening to the outside world. Looking at the economic and social development base in the western region, particularly in minority nationality areas, it is clear that accelerating development will require state support as well as assistance from China's more advanced regions. For some time, policy support and financial investment from the state as well as construction assistance from the eastern region will play a dominant role in accelerating development. However, the aim of this investment and assistance must be to strengthen the capacity for self-development of the western region, minority nationalities, and the people of all China's nationalities. The capacity for self-development of a region or nationality cannot grow naturally simply by providing it with outside assistance. It can only be obtained through increasing self-reliance by making support available in the external environment.

In reality, the autonomous changes that take place inside a country, a region, or a nationality, and their intrinsic development capacity, are what give a nationality the basic vitality to constantly progress and are the basis for development and prosperity. The capacity for self-development of a nationality is reflected in many areas, including in the ability to coordinate development of its economy, culture, population, resources, environment, and society. Therefore, in the process of the Party, state, and local governments actively promoting the strategy for the large-scale development of the western region and implementing it based on the realities of each nationality and region, the people of minority nationalities and minority nationality areas must seize this opportunity, promote the spirit of hard work and self-reliance, and constantly strengthen their capacity for self-development. As such, state support, assistance from China's more advanced regions, and the self-reliance of the people of all nationalities in the western region is China's "three-in-one" development mechanism, in which each part is indispensable for resolving nationality issues, and it is a necessary condition for the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. This "three-in-one" mechanism is a guarantee for achieving common development and prosperity. The theme for our nationality work, which reflects the core socialist value of working for the "common" good, is also embodied in the strategy for the large-scale development of the western region.

### 4.3.3 All Nationalities Striving Together for Common Prosperity and Development

In 2002, the 16th National Congress of the CPC put forward the theoretical and practical requirement of comprehensively implementing the important thought of Three Represents and proposed the goals and basic tasks for building a moderately prosperous society in all respects. It was pointed out that the CPC is deeply rooted in the Chinese nation, and that from the day the Party was founded it has been the vanguard of the Chinese working class and the vanguard of the Chinese people and nation, shouldering the solemn mission of achieving the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. The concept of the Chinese nation (being the collective name for all China's 56 nationalities) was thus written into the Constitution of the CPC. The concept that the CPC represents the fundamental interests of the people of all China's nationalities was also expressed in more satisfactory terms. The expression "in all respects" in the phrase "build a moderately prosperous society in all respects" indicated all regions and nationalities, and it will take the common efforts of the people of all China's nationalities to achieve the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

In 2003, Hu Jintao pointed out,

> *We are trying to carry out every task set by the 16th National Congress of the CPC and achieve the grand objective of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects so as to better achieve the common prosperity and development of every nationality. Achieving the common prosperity and development of every nationality requires a common and collective struggle by every nationality. A common and collective struggle and common prosperity and development are the themes for our nationality work in the new century and new period.*[71]

Establishing the themes for nationality work represented a scientific understanding of the themes of nationality issues in the primary stage of socialism. Minority nationalities and areas with concentrations of minority nationalities have urgently requested that their desire to accelerate development and the contradiction over their lack of capacity for self-development be resolved through the joint efforts of all China's nationalities. The "three-in-one" mechanism mentioned above is part of the theme of nationality work. It reflects the common destiny evident in the statement "the Han ethnic group is inseparable from minority ethnic groups, which in turn are inseparable from the Han, and… all minority ethnic groups are mutually interdependent." This common destiny was established in the historical process of forming a unified multiethnic country in China, consolidated through the praxes of the new-democratic revolution and building socialism, and distilled in the course of achieving the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

In 2004, nationality issues were chosen as the topic for the 16th Group Study Session of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, which was directly related to promoting the strategy for the large-scale development of the western region and

[71] Hu Jintao (2010), p. 3.

resolving nationality issues. At the study session, Hu Jintao further emphasized the importance of understanding and resolving nationality issues: "China is a unified multinational country with more than 100 million people belonging to minority nationalities and more than six million square kilometers of autonomous areas. This basic national condition means that nationality issues will always be major issues that affect the Party and state's overall work."[72] As major issues that impact socialism with Chinese characteristics as a whole, no single nationality work department or autonomous area can be relied on to resolve nationality issues alone. Nationality issues are major affairs of the whole Party and country and can only be gradually resolved by relying on the inherent requirement of working together, which reflects the essence of socialism itself. As such, the large-scale development of the western region is not purely about economics, but about developing society as a whole by building a moderately prosperous society in all respects and achieving the national goal of modernization, which includes the most important task of using the development of western regions to accelerate the economic and social development of minority nationalities and areas with concentrations of minority nationalities, and thereby advancing the healthy course of resolving nationality issues in China and creating a new situation in which people of every nationality unite in common struggle and prosper and develop together in the process. At the core of the work theme of praxis is "working together" and the key is "uniting in struggle," while the goal is "prospering and developing." "Working together" means having equality among nationalities and has the overall characteristics of unity, mutual assistance, and harmony between nationalities.

### *4.3.4 Remarkable Achievements in the Large-Scale Development of the Western Region*

In October 2000, the Proposal of the CPC Central Committee for Formulating the 10th 5-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development adopted at the 5th Plenary Session of the 15th CPC Central Committee set implementing the strategy for large-scale development of the western region and promoting coordinated regional development as a strategic task, and emphasized that implementing the strategy for large-scale development of the western region and accelerating development of the western region, which have a bearing on economic development, national unity and social stability, as well as on coordinated regional development and ultimately achieving common prosperity, is an important initiative for attaining the third-step objectives. In March 2001, the 10th 5-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development adopted at the Fourth Session of the Ninth National People's Congress again made specific arrangements for implementing the strategy for the large-scale development of the western region. It stated that implementation

[72] Hu Jintao, "Firmly Establish and Implement the Scientific Outlook on Development and Make All Our Work Related to Nationalities a Success in the New Situation," *ibid.*, p. 51.

of the development strategy for the western region should be achieved by utilizing the Eurasian Continental Bridge, the Yangtze River, and routes in the southwestern part of the country leading to the sea; major cities connected by such routes should serve as economic centers and play leading roles in the development of adjacent areas; and economic zones along the Longhai-Lanzhou-Urumqi line, the upper reaches of the Yangtze River, and the Nanning-Guiyang-Kunming line should be fostered to promote development of other areas.

While promoting the strategy for large-scale development of the western region, the Party and state issued a series of major policy decisions related to nationality affairs as a whole. In 2005, the State Council promulgated several provisions concerning the implementation of the Law of the People's Republic of China on Regional National Autonomy. This was an important step for upholding and improving the system of regional national autonomy, as well as a basic development for adapting and guaranteeing the strategy for large-scale development of the western region on an institutional and legal level, and it provided comprehensive regulations for policies that appeared, needed solving, and needed to be implemented since the implementation of the western development strategy. It was of great significance for providing a more specific set of regulations covering the right of autonomy and the responsibilities and duties of higher authorities under the system of regional national autonomy, building upon the important achievements of the system of regional national autonomy, and effectively guaranteeing the equal rights of minority nationalities in the course of developing the western region, and building a moderately prosperous society, as well as guaranteeing the rights and interests of national autonomous areas. That same year, the CPC Central Committee and State Council made the decision to strengthen nationality work and accelerate economic and social development of minority nationalities and minority nationality areas, and set the following main tasks for nationality work:

> *Take Deng Xiaoping Theory and the important thought of Three Represents as our guide, adopt a scientific outlook on development to guide China's overall economic and social development, focus on the grand objective of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, firmly embrace the theme of all ethnic groups working hard in solidarity and achieving common prosperity and development, comprehensively implement the Party and state's nationality policy and laws and regulations on nationalities, uphold and improve the system of regional national autonomy, consolidate and develop socialist relations between nationalities, vigorously train cadres and various personnel from minority nationalities, accelerate the economic and social development of minority nationalities and minority nationality areas, and contribute to the comprehensive development of socialist material, cultural and ethical progress and building a harmonious society in China.*[73]

Based on these major decisions on nationality affairs by the Party and state, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, in accordance with legal compliance investigation plans, specifically carried out its first inspection on com-

[73] "Decision of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council on Further Strengthening Our Work Related to Nationalities and Accelerating the Economic and Social Development of Minority Nationalities and Minority Nationality Areas," *ibid.*, p. 94.

pliance with the Law on Regional National Autonomy since its promulgation 22 years earlier.[74]

On December 8, 2012, the Standing Committee of the State Council examined and approved the 11th Five Year Plan for Large-scale Development of the Western Region. The objective of the plan was to strive to achieve the sound and rapid economic development of the western region, steadily improve the people's living standards, make breakthroughs in infrastructure construction and ecological and environmental conservation, develop key areas and industries to a new level, make new achievements in making access to education, health and other public services more equal, and take strides towards building a harmonious society. The overall strategic objective of developing the western region is, through the concerted efforts of several generations, to fundamentally alter the underdeveloped appearance of the western region and create a new western region characterized by economic prosperity, social progress, stable lives, national unity, a beautiful landscape, and an affluent population by the middle of the twenty-first century when the whole county will have basically achieved modernization.

The overall plan for the large-scale development of the western region can be divided into three stages spanning 50 years. The first stage involves laying foundations from 2001 to 2010, with the focus on structural adjustment; taking care of infrastructure, the ecological environment and education in science and technology; establishing a sound market system; fostering growth points in industries with unique features; improving the investment environment; reigning in ecological and environmental degradation; creating a virtuous cycle in economic operations; and bringing economic growth in line with the national average. The second stage involves accelerating development between 2010 and 2030 and entering the sprint phase of the western region's development, including consolidating and improving the primary-level; fostering industries with unique features; implementing economic industrialization, marketization and improving the ecological environment; comprehensively improving the layout of special zones; and achieving leapfrog economic development, all on the basis of improvements to infrastructure, strategic structural adjustments, and achievements in institution building during the previous stage. The third stage involves comprehensively promoting modernization between 2031 and 2050, and striving to accelerate the opening up of remote mountain areas and underdeveloped agricultural and pastoral areas; generally raising the production levels and living standards of people in the western region; and closing the gap with the rest of the country in every respect, on the basis of some leading developed areas enhancing their strength and achieving self-development by integrating with the domestic and international modern economic systems.

[74] Cf. Ismail Tiliwaldi, "Report of the Law Enforcement Inspection Team of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on the Implementation of the Law of the People's Republic of China on Regional National Autonomy," the State Ethnic Affairs Commission and the CPC Central Committee's Party Literature Research Office (eds.), *Selected Documents on Our Work Related to Nationalities* (2003–09), p. 176.

The key tasks of the strategy for the development of the western region during the 10th 5-Year Plan period were to accelerate infrastructure construction, strengthen ecological and environmental protection and conservation, consolidate agriculture's position as the foundation of the economy, adjust the industrial structure, develop the specialty tourism industry, and develop education in science and technology and programs related to culture and health. A particular goal was to support the development of old revolutionary base areas, ethnic minority areas, border areas and destitute areas, and concentrate limited resources and plan meticulously for the construction of symbolic projects that will help develop the whole of the western region in order to fundamentally improve production and living conditions in the aforementioned areas. It was hoped that by working flat out for a period of 5–10 years, breakthroughs would be made in the construction of infrastructure and ecological and environmental conservation in the western region so as to ensure the region's development got off to a good start.

A new chapter in nationality affairs was also included in this grand blueprint for the large-scale development of the western region. In January 2004, the State Ethnic Affairs Commission and the Ministry of Finance lead the formulation of ideas for continuing to promote the "bring prosperity to border areas and their residents" campaign, which began with nine border provinces and autonomous areas designated in 2000, expanded to include pilot projects in 17 border counties in 2001, and was later rolled out to a further 37 counties (27.4 % of all border counties). Using favorable investment and policy initiatives, infrastructure in border areas with concentrations of minority nationalities improved significantly, people's living standards rose noticeably, and social undertakings related to education, culture and health showed comprehensive progress. All of which created the conditions for building a moderately prosperous society in all respects in border areas.[75]

In 2005, the State Ethnic Affairs Commission and other central government departments worked together in formulating the Development Plan to Support Nationalities with Relatively Small Populations (2005–2010). This special support policy was designed to help 22 minority nationalities with populations of less than 100,000 and a low level of economic development, inferior working and living conditions, conspicuous deprivation, and underdeveloped social programs. The plan covered 384,000 people in 86 counties, 238 townships and 640 administrative villages in ten provinces and autonomous areas throughout the western region and in Heilongjiang and Fujian provinces.[76] When New China was first established, the majority of the minority nationalities that the plan is aimed at belonged to a different, pre-capitalist historical stage of economic and social development to the rest of

[75] "Guidelines of the State Ethnic Affairs Commission and the Ministry of Finance on Continuing to Promote the Activities to Invigorate Border Areas and Make the People There Prosperous," the State Ethnic Affairs Commission and the CPC Central Committee's Party Literature Research Office (eds.), *Selected Documents on Our Work Related to Nationalities* (2003–09), p. 7.

[76] "Plan for Supporting the Development of Nationalities with Smaller Populations" (2005–10), the State Ethnic Affairs Commission and the CPC Central Committee's Party Literature Research Office (eds.), *Selected Documents on Our Work Related to Nationalities* (2003–09), p. 119.

China, and some even retained the characteristics of primitive communities. Despite undergoing the democratic revolution and socialist transformation, their small-scale natural economies were unable to raise standards of living, and they experienced problems to do with geographical conditions, beliefs, and behavior in the course of switching to agriculture and other industries as part of the cooperative economy. As a result, they relied on government handouts for a long time and were generally characterized by small populations, being concentrated in certain regions, and having poor production and living conditions. Of 640 administrative villages, 145 are without roads, 90 without electricity, 274 without postal services, 498 without radio coverage, 215 without television coverage, 279 without telephone lines, and 368 without safe drinking water. Using poverty criteria, 345 administrative villages were designated impoverished villages, with 190,000 people living in absolute poverty, 200,000 people in the low-income population, and almost 50,000 households living in structures built from thatch and dilapidated houses.[77] Therefore, solving the survival and development issues of these nationalities with relatively small populations and helping them prosper has not only become a special task of the strategy for the large-scale development of the western region, but a priority target for extricating minority nationality areas from poverty. This embodies the principle of achieving equality among nationalities, regardless of population size.

In 2007, the State Council passed the 11th 5-Year Plan for the Large-Scale Development of the Western Region, which put forward a series of new targets for the western development strategy: "Strive to achieve the sound and rapid development of the economy of the western region, steadily improve people's living standards, make new breakthroughs in infrastructure construction and environmental and ecological conservation, raise development in key areas and key industries to new levels, achieve new results in equalizing basic public services including education and health, and take solid steps toward building a socialist harmonious society."[78] That same year, the 11th 5-Year Plan on Minority Nationality Undertakings was approved by the State Council, which was an important measure of great significance for nationality affairs in China. Indeed, it was unprecedented for a special plan to be implemented and the development and prosperity of minority nationalities to be designated as an important national undertaking. This plan highlighted a series of goals for the economic and social development of national autonomous areas, set the development tasks and key projects to be completed over the following 5 years, and included the 5-year development goals for national autonomous areas in national plans for the first time. At the same time, on the basis of the earlier implementation of activities to invigorate border areas and make the people there

[77] Hui Liangyu, "Vigorously Support the Faster Development of Nationalities with Smaller Populations," the State Ethnic Affairs Commission and the CPC Central Committee's Party Literature Research Office (eds.), *Selected Documents on Our Work Related to Nationalities* (2003–09), p. 129.

[78] "The State Council Approves the 11th 5-Year Plan for Developing the Western Region on a Large Scale," the Ethnic Affairs Commission and the CPC Central Committee's Party Literature Research Office (eds.), *Selected Documents on Our Work Related to Nationalities (2003–09),* p. 197.

prosperous, the state also formulated the 11th 5-Year Program for Activities to Invigorate Border Areas and Make the People There Prosperous, which, with the support of overall plans and the two special plans to assist minority nationalities with small populations and to bring prosperity to border areas and their residents, more clearly defined the goals for minority nationality work in China in order to accelerate the economic and social development of minority nationalities and minority nationality areas for the strategy of the large-scale development of the western region. It also provided a clearer explanation of the great significance of developing the western region and resolving nationality issues.

After 10 years of working together to push forward the large-scale development of the western region, substantial progress has been made in developing the western region and its economic power has increased considerably. Between 2000 and 2009, the combined GDP of the 12 provinces that make up the western region grew faster than the national average at an average annual rate of 12 %, from 1.66 trillion yuan to 6.69 trillion yuan, while per capita GRP increased from 4,624 yuan to 18,286 yuan.[79] This rapid growth was achieved with the support of the state as well as eastern regions, and was aimed at accelerating the development of the productive forces, including national autonomous areas, and increasing their financial self-sufficiency, because "the most important issues related to right of autonomy are financial."[80] Financial self-sufficiency is an important symbol of a region or nationality's self-development capabilities.

According to statistics, between 2000 and 2008, transfer payments from the state to the western region grew at an average annual rate of 28.2 %, from 108.9 to 793.3 billion yuan, and totaled 3.03 trillion yuan, or 43.6 % of all transfer payments to local governments by the central government. The total revenue of governments at the local level increased on average 19 % each year, from 112.7 to 605.5 billion yuan, during the same period. While continuing to strengthen the fiscal capacity of each province in the western region, the state also implemented 102 key construction projects with a total investment of 1.7 trillion yuan aimed at improving infrastructure in the areas of traffic, water, energy, and communications. These included a number of key projects that have provided major economic and social benefits, such as the Qinghai-Tibet railway, transporting of natural gas from west to east, transmitting of electricity from west to east, large water conservancy hubs, and national highways and trunk lines. These major projects have laid a solid foundation and created the development conditions for thoroughly changing the old pattern of economic and social development of the western region, particularly in minority nationality areas, and establishing a new pattern of development in the future.

By the end of 2009 there were 120 new key construction projects underway with total investment of 2.2 trillion yuan. This included the construction of 972,000 km of new highways and 16,000 km of new expressways, and the 16,000 km of the western section of the "five vertical and seven horizontal" national trunk highways. In the western region, there is currently 1.5 million kilometers of highway open to

[79] National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China (2010), p. 19.

[80] Deng Xiaoping (2010b), p. 104.

traffic, and 99.06 % of towns and 88.54 % of incorporated villages are connected by road. More than 11,000 km of new railways are being built, giving a total of 32,800 km in operation. A total of 48 regional airports are being renovated or expanded, and a further 23 new airports are under construction, bringing the number of civilian airports in the western region to 81, which is 48.8 % of the national total.[81] Significant developments are also being made in other major infrastructure projects in the areas of water conservancy, energy, and electric power.

A great deal of money has also been invested in a range of areas that directly affect people's lives, including education, healthcare, drinking water, housing, and social security. For example, investment in healthcare has increased 161 times from 150 million yuan to 24.23 billion yuan.[82] Meanwhile, pairing capital, technology and human resource assistance from the eastern region has been institutionalized, and a number of developed eastern provinces and cities have formed fixed economic assistance relationships with provinces and autonomous areas in the western region, such as those between Beijing and Inner Mongolia, Shanghai and Xinjiang, and Guangdong and Guangxi. Mechanisms have also been set up to provide the Tibet Autonomous Region with assistance from the entire country. As of 2009, more than 200,000 enterprises from the eastern region had invested a total of 3 trillion yuan in the western region; 15 provinces (and municipalities), cities specially designated in the state plan and cities in special economic zones in the eastern region and 11 provinces (and autonomous regions and municipalities) in the western region set up poverty-alleviation cooperation relationships; and, organized by the state, the western region has sent a total of 3,528 local cadres to central government and state institutions and temporary placements in the eastern region, and central government and state institutions have sent 573 cadres on temporary placements in the western region. The implementation of the Sunshine Project and other similar projects has helped train millions of people from the western region, particularly the primary level, in practical skills; nine groups of experts with PhDs totaling 1,151 people have been dispatched to the western region to take up posts; and 98,000 university students have been dispatched to the western region to provide intellectual support. These measures have played an important role in promoting the acceleration of economic and social development in the western region and reflected the themes of people from all nationalities working together and prospering together in the course of China's modernization.

In the course of promoting and implementing the strategy of the large-scale development of the western region, economic growth in autonomous areas inhabited by minority nationalities has been higher than the national average. The GRP of five autonomous regions increased at an annual average rate of 12.8 % from 519.8 billion yuan to 2.35 billion between 2000 and 2009, which accounted for 31.2 % and 35.1 % respectively of the GRP for the western region. Of these, the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region not only emerged as the leader in terms of economic growth among the five autonomous regions, but has had the fastest growing economy

[81] Source: http://www.china.com.cn/news/2010-07/08/content.

[82] Source: http://www.chinawest.gov.cn/web/index.asp.

of all China's provinces since 2002. This "Inner Mongolia phenomenon," as it has been called by some economists, is a typical example of how the strategy for the large-scale development of the western region has accelerated the development of minority nationality areas and confirmed Deng Xiaoping's prediction:

> *Take Inner Mongolia, with its vast grasslands and sparse population. In future, it may become one of the most developed areas, and there are quite a few Han people there. When assessing a minority nationality area, the important thing is to see whether it has development potential. If the number of Han people there is fairly large, and if they are helping the local people develop the economy, that's not a bad thing. In judging a matter of this sort, one has to consider the essence and not the form.*[83]

Between 2005 and 2007, Tibet celebrated its 40th anniversary as an autonomous region, while Xinjiang, Guangxi, and Ningxia celebrated their 50th anniversaries, and Inner Mongolia its 60th anniversary, which exhibited the practical results of the system of regional national autonomy and the awe-inspiring development achievements made since reform and opening up, and especially since the start of the implementation of the strategy for the large-scale development of the western region. It is clear that national autonomous areas are ushering in a new period of rapid development.

However, we must also be aware that it will not be possible to narrow the historical and widening development gap in the short-term. Moreover, in the course of promoting the rapid development of the western region, apart from having different natural, economic, human, and social environments from the eastern region or the Chinese interior, a number of areas in the western region face complex nationality issues that are legacies of imperialism. Under the influence of various factors in the international community, these issues have continually interfered in the development of the western region and resulted in a serious of serious problems that affect social stability. These types of problems all play a role in constraining the pace of development in the western region, and particularly in minority nationality areas. Following 10 years of implementing the western development strategy, enormous changes have occurred in the economy and society of the western region, and it has achieved an unprecedented level of development. However, the western region, and especially areas with concentrations of ethnic minorities, still faces a number of difficulties in developing the economy and society as well as various other undertakings.

### *4.3.5 Arduous Tasks Ahead in the Large-Scale Development of the Western Region*

By 2010, the strategy for the large-scale development of the western region entered its tenth year, and dramatic changes had occurred in the region's economy and it had achieved an unprecedented level of development. Despite this, there are still major

[83] Deng Xiaoping (1993e), p. 246.

tasks facing the economic development of the western region and particularly areas with concentrations of ethnic minorities. In an assessment of the overall economic competitiveness of China's eastern, central, northeastern, and western regions in 2008,[84] the eastern region received 31.01 points, the central region scored 19.99 points, the northeast scored 22.17 points, and the western region lagged behind on 15.62 points. From the assessment of the economic competitiveness of each of the western region's provinces and autonomous regions one can see that, apart from the Inner Mongolia autonomous region and Sichuan Province, areas with concentrations of ethnic minorities, including Xinjiang, Ningxia, Yunnan, Qinghai, Guizhou, Gansu and Tibet, lagged behind the rest of the region.

Overall Economic Competitiveness of the Western Region's 12 Provinces and Autonomous Regions in 2008

| 12 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions of the western region | Rank in China (not including Taiwan, HK, Macao) |
|---|---|
| Inner Mongolia | 10 |
| Sichuan | 16 |
| Shaanxi | 20 |
| Chongqing | 22 |
| Xinjiang | 24 |
| Ningxia | 25 |
| Guangxi | 26 |
| Yunnan | 27 |
| Qinghai | 28 |
| Guizhou | 29 |
| Gansu | 30 |
| Tibet | 31 |

Li Jianping et al. (2010), p. 7

The economic and social development gap is most prominent between east and west, especially between inland areas with concentrations of ethnic minorities and the eastern region. Statistical analysis from a series of indices on economic and social development and sustainable development in relevant studies has shown that, although the speed of development in provinces and autonomous regions of the western region is indeed accelerating, the gap between them and the national average remains significant.

For example, in terms of regional economic development, in 2000 the national average regional economic development index score was 108 (equivalent to the 1995 level of the eastern region). The eastern region scored 116.2, while the western region scored 100.2. In 2007, having implemented the western development strat-

[84] Overall economic competitiveness is based on the macro-economy, industrial economy, sustainable development, public finances, development environment, government role, and coordination capabilities.

egy for 7 years, the national average was 122.2, and the scores for the eastern and western regions were 129.9 and 114.4 respectively. In the intervening 7 years, the national average therefore increased by 14.2. The eastern region's score increased by 13.7, and the western region's increased by 14.2, which was in line with the national average and a larger increase than the eastern region. This reflects the acceleration in regional economic development in the western region that took place as a result of the state's large-scale investment in four of the key indicators, namely infrastructure capacity, economies of scale, economic driving forces, and structure rationality. This development trend can also be seen by comparing a number of other key indicators from the same period:[85]

Regional social development index: the national average in 2000 was 105.5 and increased by 9.7 points to 114.9 in 2007; during the same period the index score for the eastern region increased by 9.5 from 109.9 to 119.4, and the index score for the western region increased by 8.6 from 102.3 to 110.9.[86]

Regional education index: the national average in 2000 was 108.5 and increased by 12.7 points to 121.2 in 2007; during the same period the index score for the eastern region increased by 11.1 from 111.7 to 122.8, and the index score for the western region increased by 13.2 from 104.5 to 117.7.[87]

Regional science and technology index: the national average in 2000 was 104.1 and increased by 7.3 points to 111.4 in 2007; during the same period the index score for the eastern region increased by 7.8 from 106.5 to 114.3, and the index score for the western region increased by 7 from 98.4 to 105.4.[88]

Regional management index: the national average in 2000 was 104.9 and increased by 2 points to 106.9 in 2007; during the same period, the index score for the eastern region increased by 3.6 from 104.1 to 107.7, and the index score for the western region increased by 4.4 from 100.1 to 104.5.[89]

It can be seen from these indices that following implementation of the western development strategy, thanks to the "three-in-one" mechanism of state support, assistance from the eastern region, and the efforts of all nationalities in the western region, development accelerated in the western region, and the region's scores in these indices increased as quickly or faster than the national averages and were close to or even exceeded increases in the eastern region. Nevertheless, this does not change the fact that the western region, particularly areas with concentrations of ethnic minorities, continues to lag behind the rest of the country in terms of economic and social development.

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[85] Sustainable Research Group, China Academy of Sciences (2010), pp. 306–316.

[86] Regional economic development level is based on four indices: infrastructure capabilities, economic model, economic driving forces, structure rationality.

[87] Regional education ability is based on three indices: education investment, education model, educational achievement.

[88] Regional science and technology ability is based on three indices: science and technology resources, science and technology output, science and technology contributions.

[89] Regional management ability is based on three indices: government efficiency, economic and social regulation and control, environmental management.

Sustainable Development Scores of the Western Region's 12 Provinces and Autonomous Regions

| 12 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions of western region | Sustainable development index | Rank in China (out of 31 provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions) |
|---|---|---|
| National average | 108.9 | Not including Taiwan, HK, Macao |
| Shanghai | 119.8 | 1 |
| Chongqing | 108.8 | 16 |
| Shaanxi | 108.3 | 18 |
| Inner Mongolia | 107.9 | 20 |
| Guangxi | 107.3 | 22 |
| Sichuan | 107.2 | 23 |
| Xinjiang | 106.5 | 25 |
| Guizhou | 105.5 | 26 |
| Yunnan | 105.2 | 27 |
| Qinghai | 104.43 | 28 |
| Ningxia | 104.2 | 29 |
| Gansu | 103.6 | 30 |
| Tibet | 102.2 | 31 |

Sustainable development scores are calculated based on 226 indicators and 45 variables related to survival support systems, development support systems, environmental support systems, social support systems, and intelligent support systems. See Sustainable Research Group, China Academy of Sciences (2010), p. 266

It can be seen that during the past 10 years, while implementing the Western development strategy, the speed of economic and social development and the economies of scale of the western region have been close to or above the national average. However, the capacity of the region for self-development is still very low. This is particularly true of the five autonomous regions and provinces with high concentrations of minority nationalities, namely Sichuan, Yunnan, Guizhou, Qinghai, and Gansu. In terms of economic competitiveness and sustainable development they are all below the national average, and there is still a significant gap between them and developed areas in the east. The backward state of the western region's economic and social development is due to historical and geographical factors as well as causes related to the economic mode of production, social and cultural traditions, and human resources. The backward state of the western region's economic development is also inevitably reflected in the difference in people's living standards. For example, in 2009, the per capita disposal income of rural residents in the western region was just 3,816 yuan, which was 3,340 yuan less than the eastern region, 1,641 yuan less than the northeast region, 977 yuan less than the central region, and still significantly less than the national average for rural residents of 5,153 yuan. The per capita disposal income of urban residents in the western region was 14,213 yuan, and although the difference with the northeastern and central regions is not huge, it is still 6,740 yuan less than the eastern region and noticeably less than the national average for urban residents of

17,175 yuan.[90] Therefore, it will not be easy for and there is still a long way to go before the western region catches up with national averages of economic and social development indices.

The economic and social modernization of China's western region, particularly areas with high concentrations of minority nationalities, will be a very complex endeavor. This includes some particular problems that could affect the security and stability of society, undermine the development environment, and threaten relations between nationalities. These problems are all directly related to the intense bullying and aggression China suffered at the hands of foreign empires in its recent history. In this respect, China suffers similar problems to those faced by many other developing countries that were subjected to colonial rule. The difference is that China has taken a development path suited to its particular national conditions. Since 1990, the aforementioned problems have not only become special contradictions China faces in resolving nationality issues, but due to the international character of nationality issues, they have also made this internal affair an important matter in international relations and become an important part of China's fight to safeguard its national core interests.

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[90] National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China (2010), p. 21.

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# Chapter 5
# Safeguarding National Unity, Opposing National Separatism

*Tibet is part of Chinese territory, and the Tibet question is China's internal affair. The PLA must enter Tibet.*

–Mao Zedong, "The PLA Must Enter Tibet"

*Regarding Cross-Strait reunification – For Taiwan to be reunified with the mainland, first of all, it is a national question, a question of national sentiments. All members of the Chinese nation want to see China reunified. The present state of division is contrary to our national will.*

–Deng Xiaoping in reply to American TV correspondent Mike Wallace

*Since the founding of New China, we have waged a constant struggle with anti-China forces and ethnic separatist forces over Tibet and Xinjiang. Maintaining stability in these areas, countering the disruptive activities of anti-China forces and ethnic separatist forces, and safeguarding national unity and reunifying the motherland are all of tremendous significance for ensuring the smooth progress of reform, opening up and modernization, and for the long-term peace and stability of our Party and country.*

–Jiang Zemin, "Let the Party and State's Voices Be Heard in Millions of Homes in Tibet, Xinjiang and Other Border Areas"

*Crack down on ethnic separatist forces and their activities in accordance with law; firmly oppose domestic and foreign hostile forces that use nationality issues to infiltrate China and carry out disruptive activities; and resolutely safeguard national unity, reunification of the motherland, national security, and social stability.*

–Hu Jintao, "Report at the Central Conference on Nationality Work"

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S. Hao, *How the Communist Party of China Manages the Issue of Nationality*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-662-48462-3_5

China has suffered in recent history from continuous aggression by imperialist powers as well as the erosion of its sovereignty during a century of humiliation that included occupation, dismemberment and division. Since the First Opium War in 1840, Britain, France, Germany, the United States, Italy, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Russian Empire, the Netherlands, Spain, Portugal and Japan have all carried out acts of aggression against China by land or by sea, which can be described as unique even among continents and countries that have suffered from Western imperialism and colonialism in recent times. As a result, the historical legacy of nationality issues left by imperialism is particularly onerous.

This "historical legacy of nationality issues" refers to the division of China and the Chinese nation, and the national-level nationality issues that affect China's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. Following victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan, the founding of the People's Republic of China, and China's reform and opening up, part of this "historical legacy" has been eradicated. However, some issues continue to threaten China's sovereign independence, territorial integrity and the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, including the "Tibet issue," Cross-Strait reunification, and the "East Turkestan" issue.

In the 1990s, following the disintegration of the Soviet Union, dramatic changes in Eastern Europe, and end of the Cold War, enhanced and supported by Western powers this "historical legacy" has fermented and come to constitute an arduous and complex long-term task facing the CPC in its efforts to resolve nationality issues, namely safeguarding national unity and opposing national separatism.

## 5.1 Occupation of Chinese Territory and Erosion of China's Sovereignty by Imperial Powers

### *5.1.1 Imperialist Annexation and Occupation of Chinese Territory*

In modern times, China has suffered from a wide range of aggressive behavior by land and sea at the hands of imperialist powers. These wars of aggression all sought to dismember China through colonial occupation and divide its sovereign interests.

In 1624, the Dutch landed on and occupied southern Taiwan. Two years later, the Spanish occupied northern Taiwan. In 1662, Ming loyalist Koxinga (Zheng Chenggong) led a force to Taiwan where he defeated the occupying Dutch colonial forces and regained control of the island. In 1683, the Qing army defeated Koxinga's forces and the island was politically and territorially incorporated into the Qing Dynasty. During the following two centuries, two of the Qing government's major tasks involved achieving peace between Taiwan's indigenous population and Han immigrants as well as between immigrants and people from Fujian who had been imported as laborers by the Dutch, and resisting invasions of Taiwan by imperialist

powers.[1] After the First Opium War, from 1841 when Britain attempted to seize Keelung to 1885 when the French captured the Penghu archipelago, Britain, the United States, France, Germany and Japan all successively attempted to occupy Taiwan.[2] It was also during this period that the Qing government upgraded Taiwan's administrative status to that of a province in order to better safeguard China's sovereignty, territory and coastal areas.

While Taiwan was experiencing these invasions, the mainland was similarly suffering from attacks at the hands of imperialists, and its sovereignty was violated and its territory carved up through numerous unfair treaties. At the end of the First Opium War, China was forced to sign the first of these unfair treaties in its modern history, the Treaty of Nanking. In 1842, China's Hong Kong was occupied by forces of the British Empire and placed under colonial rule. Soon afterwards Portuguese colonial forces seized the Chinese island of Macau. As the ancient Eastern Chinese empire clashed with modern Western imperialism, the Qing Dynasty's outdated weaponry was destined to be defeated by Western artillery, and the terms of peace, in which China was forced to sign treaties involving vast sums of silver in compensation, the ceding of large areas of land and the transfer of various rights, left the Qing Dynasty with no option but to succumb to imperialist rule. Moreover, these so called treaties and negotiations were entirely established on the unequal basis of taking by force. Beginning with the Treaty of Nanking, the many treaties the Qing government was forced to sign under threat of force by the Imperialist powers were filled with "legal" clauses that eroded Chinese sovereignty, ceded its territory and divested it of its interests.

The Treaty of Aigun in 1858 and the Treaty of Peking in 1860 ceded more than one million square kilometers of land in northeast China to Tsarist Russia, and the 1864 Treaty on the Sino-Russian Demarcation of the Northwest Border ceded a further 440,000 $km^2$ of land in China's northwest to the Russians.[3] Moreover, in 1865, the Khanate of Khokand in Central Asia took advantage of the Hui uprising against Qing rule in China's western region and dispatched an army led by Yakub Beg to capture Kashgar and establish the Zhedeshaer Kingdom. After taking control of today's southern Xinjiang, Yakub Beg's forces moved north; thus affording Tsarist Russia, which cast covetous eyes upon China's western region, a long-awaited opportunity to make a move. And in 1871, Russia sent forces to seize the region of Ili.

The British Empire, in competition with Russia in western and southern Asia at the time, however, was already looking toward China's northwest and southwest regions. Due to this rivalry between the imperialist powers, the British felt a sense of urgency: Russia promoted "the extension of her frontiers until they were all but contiguous with India's," and "The stronger Russia is in Central Asia, the weaker

[1] *Veritable Records of Qing Emperor Qianlong* (28), Taiwan Chinese Book Co., Ltd., Taipei, 1969, Vol. 1397, p. 20766.

[2] Cf. Lian Heng (2006), pp. 42–45.

[3] Mapping Department of the People's Publishing House (1997), p. 18.

England is in India."[4] As such, in order to contain Russian expansion and achieve the strategic objective of invading Tibet, the British decided to recognize and support Yakub Beg's regime. Faced with this crisis on China's western border, the Qing government dispatched General Tso (Zuo Zongtang) and his troops to recapture the northwest, which led to China's most successful campaign against foreign aggressors in modern times. In 1884, the strategy of creating Xinjiang Province was approved by the Qing court. This proved to be an important measure by the Qing government for shoring up its land border.

At that time, China faced a growing crisis of imperialist aggression on its land borders. Acts of aggression by colonial powers met with fierce resistance from the people living along China's borders, but this simply prompted the foreign powers to push for more "treaties" by piling further pressure on the Qing government, which created a mode of colonialism whereby foreign powers would commit acts of aggression, the people would resist, favorable terms would be extorted through peace talks, claims for compensation would be met, and the colonialists would legitimately occupy Chinese territory. The Treaty of Yantai signed by China and Britain in 1876 came about as the result of the Margary Incident in which a British explorer was killed by a minority nationality in Yunnan, opening the door for further acts of aggression. The signing of the treaty essentially gave British colonial forces the right to occupy Yunnan and to move deep into China's southwest, and it paved the way for their later invasion of Tibet.

In 1888, the British, who had already brought the South Asian subcontinent under colonial rule, launched their first invasion of Tibet. Due to compromises made by the Qing government, the Convention between Great Britain and China Relating to Sikkim and Tibet signed in 1890 made Sikkim a British protectorate and stipulated the Tibet-Dremojong (Sikkim) border.[5] In 1903, the British again invaded Tibet, capturing Lhasa in August of the following year. On September 7, the British invaders signed the Treaty of Lhasa with the local Tibetan government, which included a clause that the Tibetan government should pay the exorbitant sum of £500,000 to the British in compensation. It also stipulated that the British could occupy the Chumbi Valley in Tibet for a limited period (75 years) as security for Tibetan payment of indemnity.[6] The invaders were to be compensated for their losses and would occupy territory as a guarantee of payment of compensation. This was the "gangster logic" of imperialism and how the Chinese territory of Tibet was seized.

The Qing navy's defeat at the hands of the Japanese during the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895, led to the signing of the humiliating Treaty of Shimonoseki, which forced China to cede the Liaodong Peninsula, Taiwan and the Penghu Islands to Japan in addition to an exorbitant sum in compensation. This resulted in Taiwan suffering colonial rule in the form of the "Tennoization movement" at the hands of Japanese imperialists for over half a century. The territory and indemnities Japan

[4] Fleming (1961), p. 3.

[5] Mapping Department of the People's Publishing House (1997), p. 32.

[6] Peter Fleming, *op. cit*, p. 247.

had secured from the Qing government whet the appetite of other imperialist powers, and in 1900 a war that would split China erupted when the Eight-Nation Alliance, consisting of troops from Britain, the US, Germany, France, Russia, Japan, Italy and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, invaded Beijing under the pretext of quashing the Boxer Rebellion and ended up wantonly pillaging the city, burning down the Summer Palace and crushing the Qing Government's last shred of self-belief in being a "Celestial Empire." Under the terms of the Boxer Protocol that was implemented in the wake of the fighting, China was forced to pay as much as 450 million taels of silver in compensation (980 million taels including interest), and with the humiliation of its divided sovereignty and territory, China was reduced to a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society. The Qing government thus became a mere tool for imperialists to rule China.

### *5.1.2 Imperialists Carving Up China*

In the nineteenth century, Tsarist Russia was a powerful country rapidly expanding across the Eurasian continent. While seizing vast tracts of land in China's northeast and northwest, it also carried out aggressive activities in the Chinese region of Mongolia. Even the signing of the Treaty of Kiakhta and the Qiaketu Treaty between China and Russia in 1927, which delineated the border between the two nations, did not diminish in the slightest Russia's designs on the region. Following the Sino-Japanese War and the ceding of the Liaodong Peninsula to the Japanese, tensions between Russia and Japan over China's northeast constantly escalated. This eventually led to the Russo-Japanese War on Chinese soil in 1904. Following Russia's defeat, in 1907 the Russo-Japanese Secret Treaty was signed, which recognized Russia's special interests in China's Outer Mongolia and assured little disturbance in Russia's attempts to occupy the region. Russia then proceeded to use a variety of means to infiltrate and bribe the top lamas and nobility, sever the region's ties with the Han Chinese and Manchus, and foster forces loyal to Russia in preparation for wresting Outer Mongolia from the clutches of China.

In 1910, the Qing government dispatched three *amban* (high officials) to Küriye (Ulaanbaatar), but the local fiscal burden and social unrest created by new policies of the officials accelerated the independence activities of Outer Mongolia's nobility. In July 1911, an alliance of four Khalka princes and upper-strata lamas plotted to achieve independence, and they dispatched representatives to St. Petersburg to seek Russian support. The Russians agreed to send "mediators" to support Outer Mongolia's independence efforts through diplomatic channels, but also sent two companies of Cossacks to beef up forces stationed at its consulate in Küriye. This was exactly the excuse Russia had been looking for to achieve its political aim of splitting off Outer Mongolia.

Following the start of the 1911 Revolution in China, as successive southern provinces declared independence from the Qing government, Outer Mongolia's 8th Jebtsundamba Khutughtu took the opportunity to declare independence on

December 1 and ascend the throne as Bogd Khan, emperor of Mongolia. At the same time, word was sent to towns and cities across Inner Mongolia calling on them to do the same. Tsarist Russia not only supported Outer Mongolia's independence, it immediately signed the Russian-Mongolian Agreement and the Conventions on Commerce between Russia and Mongolia in order to legalize Russia's colonial rule over Outer Mongolia. This resulted in intense protests by the Chinese people, and following negotiations by the nationalist government, the Sino-Russian Declaration was signed in November 1913, and the Sino-Russian-Mongolian Agreement was signed in 1915, both of which reaffirmed China's "suzerainty" over Outer Mongolia and Outer Mongolia's status as a part of Chinese territory, and stated that both China and Russia recognized Outer Mongolia's "autonomy."[7] "Suzerainty" thus became a political veil for imperialist powers to divide China.

The October Revolution that broke out in Russia in 1917 overthrew the Tsarist Empire and resulted in the Outer Mongolian "autonomous" regime losing its imperialist backer. On November 7, 1919, the nobility and ministers of Outer Mongolia's "autonomous government" sent a letter to the president of the Chinese nationalist government asking him to revoke Outer Mongolia's autonomy and abrogate all treaties and agreements between China, Russia and Mongolia. On November 22, 1919, and January 28, 1920, the nationalist government issued government decrees formally revoking Outer Mongolia's autonomous status. At that time a large number of people from the upper echelons of the Tsarist empire, including soldiers, were forced to flee to Outer Mongolia by the revolution, where they formed a band of rebels. Roman von Ungern-Sternberg's rebel army occupied Küriye and urged Jebtsundamba Khutughtu to declare independence again.

During this period, influenced by the Soviet revolution, revolutionary organizations in Outer Mongolia began to develop, and on March 1, 1921, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party was established, which drew together an armed force. With the arrival of the Soviet Red Army in Outer Mongolia to suppress the rebels and their subsequent support of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, on July 10, 1921, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Government led by the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party was established, with Jebtsundamba Khutughtu serving as monarch of the constitutional government. In November the government signed a friendship agreement with the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. On June 7, 1924, the Mongolian People's Republic was set up, giving Outer Mongolia "independence" under the protection of the Soviet Union. This state of affairs, under the situation at the time whereby the Nationalists were allied with the Soviets and the CPC and the Nationalists and the CPC were cooperating with each other, the Soviet Union's political stance and the Outer Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party regime became "politically tolerated" due to the influence of the political program of the Communist International. However, Outer Mongolia's independent status also became an unsettled historical issue between the Soviet Union and China.

[7] Hao Shiyuan and Du Shiwei (2007), pp. 87–88.

During this period of imperialist invasions of China, Japan seized the most land and profit of any country. After the Russo-Japanese War, Japan replaced Russia as the beneficiary in the south of China's northeast region. The areas was even renamed the Kwantung Leased Territory, and the Japanese set about establishing the Kwantung Military Government and the South Manchuria Railway Company. They also renamed their invasion force the Kwantung Army. However, it was clear to all that the Japanese planned to seize the whole of China's northeast. Between 1911 and 1916, Japan used its allies in the Qing court and the Mongolian nobility to bring about Manchurian and Mongolian independence. Resolving the Manchu-Mongolian problem later became the primary objective of Japan's invasion of China, and to this end they carried out a great deal of planning and preparation in order to pry the northeast region and Inner Mongolia away from China.

In 1931, following the Mukden Incident, the so-called Proposal for Resolving the Manchu-Mongolian Issue was promulgated, which proposed establishing a new regime with Puyi at its head and whose "territory includes the four northeastern provinces and Mongolia." Its purpose was to "completely sever Manchuria and Mongolia from Chinese territory."[8] On February 18, 1932, guided by the Japanese Kwantung Army, the so-called Northeast Administrative Commission issued a decree stating that the northeast was declaring "independence" from China and establishing the state of Manchukuo. On March 1, the Committee also issued the so-called Declaration on Establishing a State, thus formally declaring the establishment of Manchukuo. On March 9, Puyi's "inauguration" was held. The so-called state of Manchukuo was the product of Japan's attempts to divide the nationalities and state of China. The puppet regime set up by the Japanese imperialists then proceeded to sign the Japan-Manchukuo Protocol, which made Japan's occupation of northeast China, at least on the surface, legal. In reality, however, Manchukuo was nothing more than a Japanese colony.

Among the military, political and commercial forces of Tsarist Russia, Britain and other imperial powers who were competing over Central and Western Asia and even China's Xinjiang region, the tactic of divide and conquer was commonly adopted. In the 1880s, the Islamic Revival Movement swept through North Africa and Central and Western Asia, and ideas such as pan-Islamism, pan-Islamic nationalism, neo-Sufism, and the Jihad Movement, became the ideologies for mobilizing resistance in the Islamic world against growing Western imperialist aggression and colonial occupation.[9] The ideological trends of pan-Islamism and pan-Turkism influenced the Muslim societies of northwest China, particularly Uyghur religious figures and intellectuals in Xinjiang who had studied in Turkey and Kazan and Tartar areas of Russia and became the carriers and disseminators of these beliefs. On November 12, 1933, the "Islamic Republic of East Turkestan," which was established in Kashgar in southern Xinjiang, emerged amidst the backdrop outlined above. The initiators of the movement took advantage of the ongoing struggle against warlords across Xinjiang and the chaos created by an attack by Gansu

[8] Jiang Niandong et al. (1980), p. 87.

[9] Cf. Wu Yungui and Zhou Xiefan (2000), p. 146.

warlord Ma Zhongying to launch the movement and split China. In February 1934, the 3-month old regime was wiped out by Ma Zhongying. Despite its short existence, the vague geographical concept of "East Turkestan" has nevertheless become a beacon for regional separatism in Xinjiang.[10] November 12 has even been assigned the symbolic significance of "Independence Day" in the region.

### *5.1.3 "Suzerainty" for "De-Sovereignization"*

In the course of the formation of the Western nation state system and spread of colonialism around the globe, traditional mainland empires continued to disintegrate. However, despite the rise and fall and constant succession of dynasties that had always characterized China, made up as it was of disparate peoples, it had never before been broken up. Since Qin-Han unification, China had always existed in some form and had never been conquered or subjugated. "Instead of massive breaks and new beginnings, China throughout her history experienced merely the rise and fall of dynasties within the traditional framework."[11] This understanding clearly fits with the facts of Chinese history.

Following their sieges of China during successive wars of aggression, the imperialist powers adopted various measures to attempt to break up the middle kingdom. Having attained military superiority, they used the international relations tactic of signing "treaties" and other rules to get the Qing government to cede territory and pay indemnities. The Western colonial concept of "suzerainty" was used to deny Chinese historical claims of sovereignty and territorial jurisdiction. By imposing "suzerainty" onto China and its territories and border areas, they hoped to dismember the national sovereignty of the Qing Dynasty and undermine its right to rule. Their aim was to apply the Western colonial notion of "suzerainty" to China's several-thousand-year-old system of having a unified multi-nationality state that "unites all under heaven," "rule based on local customs" and has "harmony without sameness," based on the Western idea of "one nation, one state" wherein nationalities are differentiated by their natural geography, historical culture, economic life and religious beliefs, and thereby create "suzerain relations" through the law of the jungle that prevailed during the Western colonial era. This was a common method used by imperialists to invade, break up and colonize China's border regions.

As an Eastern ancient civilized power, China exerted a great deal of political, economic and cultural influence over its border regions during the several thousand years of its historical development, and it had created the concepts of "all under heaven" and "allegiance" involving a system of tribute. However, in Chinese political and cultural life, a clear distinction was drawn, as evidenced by Qing Dynasty laws and regulations, between the paying of tribute to the emperor by outlying tributary states as conciliation and vassal states within the empire that were gov-

[10] Cf. Li Sheng (2003), p. 157.

[11] Stavrianos (1998).

erned in accordance with their local customs. Korea, Okinawa, Burma, Annam, Kokand, Gurkha, Russia and some ancient states in Southeast Asia were outlying tributary states. But Mongolia, Xinjiang, Tibet and other regions were vassal states within the empire that paid tribute to the emperor each year, and China was responsible for regulating administrative, military, economic and social affairs in these regions. In the 53rd year of the reign of Emperor Qianlong (1788), after suppressing the Lin Shuang-wen rebellion on Taiwan, Fu Kang'an ordered the leaders of the Taiwanese tribe to travel to the capital and pay tribute to the Emperor in accordance with the regulations governing Sichuan tribal leaders,[12] because Taiwan was a part of Chinese territory.

Looking at China's system of paying tribute and homage to emperors based on the Western colonial concept of "suzerain" states, theoretically the system regarding outlying tributary states could be considered a form of suzerainty. The system of vassal states within the empire that paid annual homage to the Emperor, however, could not. During their activities aimed at creating independent states in Tibet and Outer Mongolia, the imperialist powers recognized China's "suzerainty" over these regions. This was not the result of confusion over the concepts. Rather they consciously equated these regions with tributary states, because other tributary states had already become "suzerain" through violent means and treaties and reduced to colonies (for example, Korea to Japan, Vietnam to France, and Burma to Britain). Categorizing Chinese territories including Tibet and Outer Mongolia as having a "suzerain relationship" with China also meant that these territories could declare independence and become "suzerain" states. Therefore, while vehemently recognizing China's suzerainty, the political design of imperialists branding China's relationship with border areas inhabited by minority nationalities as a suzerain relationship was to craftily plant a seed of doubt regarding China's sovereignty over these regions.

## 5.2 The "Historical Legacy" of Nationality Issues in China Left by the Imperial Powers

### *5.2.1 The "Tibet Issue" Created by the British*

Tibet is an inseparable part of Chinese territory. This is not only true under the modern nation state; it is also a fact regarding the sovereign authority and territorial scope of ancient China. Given that the Yuan Dynasty implemented administrative rule over the Tibetan region in the thirteenth century, Chinese rule over Tibet has already existed for more than 700 years. If one looks at the history of interactions between the disparate peoples that make up China, the Tibetans, including the Xirong people, has close ties with the Central Plains during the Tang Dynasty,

[12] Fu Kang'an (1988), p. 209.

which was 1,300 years ago. If one does not explore the reasons for the continuous lineage of Chinese civilization from this perspective, one cannot understand China's uninterrupted history, nor can one fully understand the role of imperialism in the "Tibet issue."

The so-called "Tibet issue" is a false proposition created by modern imperialist powers meddling in Tibet and the British invasion of Tibet. Encroachments into Tibet by Westerners were part of the global invasions and attacks that took place under modern colonialism. In November 1774, George Bogle, a representative of the British East India Company, entered Tibet. During the first half of the nineteenth century, numerous Westerners snuck into Tibet to map, investigate, travel and spread Christianity in the region. The Russians and French from the east and the British from the south dispatched a succession of explorers and missionaries who "entered Tibet secretly or openly; thus establishing a high water mark [of Western activity in Tibet]."[13] The objective of these persistent encroachments into Tibet by Western colonial forces was not, of course, to find "happy savages," but rather to open up routes for commerce, capture markets and plunder the region of mineral resources, which was no different to the activities of Western colonialists around the globe. Therefore, when these activities were heavily restricted by the Qing government and resisted by Tibetan monastic and civil society, armed invasion became a necessary choice. In December 1903, the British army invaded Tibet and took Lhasa in August of the following year. This is the root of the "Tibet issue" so speculated about in modern times.

In fact, "Defining the Tibetan state which British forces entered in 1903–1904 is difficult. There was then a fundamental difference between European and Asian understandings of statehood. The European model was the nation state; a territorial entity, within defined borders, in which a single government was sovereign and enjoyed a monopoly of force."[14] Compared to the Western Europeans, who had experienced the Spring of Nations in the 1840s and universally established modern nation states, the majority of ancient Asian societies were still on the eve of bourgeois nationalist movements, while the Tibet region was still governed by a theocratic system of feudal serfdom. As such, even after the bourgeois revolution erupted in China and up until the Second World War, "both the Western powers and Tibet were clearly unable to declare Tibetan independence."[15] This was because the social system, power structure and economic and social development in Tibet at the time were still similar to what had existed in Europe during the Middle Ages. Although the British never explicitly stated that they "sought to propagate ideas and images for a political purpose," they nevertheless were unable to find a social foundation on which to "system transplant" based on the Western model of nation states. Moreover, after the Tubo Dynasty, the Tibetan self-image basically had nothing do with

[13] Zhou Weizhou (2001), p. 76.

[14] Alex Mckay, "We Want a United Tibet," *Tibet and the British Raj: The Frontier Cadre 1904–1947*, Routledge, p. 196.

[15] Stein (1999), p. 103.

nationalism. This is line with Tibet's historical facts.[16] Therefore, the British sought to create a Tibetan image as a tool to establish a powerful "buffer zone" in Tibet.[17] In fact, it created a colony under the rule of the British-Indian authorities.

Having already established colonial rule over the border from Tibet in the South Asian subcontinent, the British were in a stronger position and had geographical advantages over other imperialist forces with designs on Tibet. At the start of the twentieth century, in order to outmaneuver the forces of Tsarist Russia, the British applied pressure through diplomatic and trade measures on the Qing government, and eventually resorted to military aggression to obtain control of Tibet. In the first half of the twentieth century, "[The] British enjoyed considerable influence at Lhasa, and even acted as Tibet's patron. They acknowledged the Tibetan's desire for isolation and tried to restrict the entry of foreigners to those whose presence was of benefit to the imperial government."[18] These "people who benefited the empire" were the people who could design a "Tibetan identity" that would help with bringing about Tibetan independence.

Therefore, "The British had to persuade the Tibetan Government to create or develop the essential elements of national identity: state structures (those aspects of centralized authority such as government, law, and boundaries) and social processes (those aspects of society with a shared consciousness of unified or related identity, such as traditions, values, and belief systems)."[19] In other words, the British had to create in Tibet the "essential elements of national identity" in accordance with the Western model of a modern nation state. In 1913 and 1914, a conference held in Simla that was set up by the British created this necessary "Tibetan identity."

The basis of so-called "Tibetan identity" was first of all a question of "suzerainty." After Tsarist Russia lost out to Japan in their competition in the Far East, relations between Britain and Russia began to thaw, and the negotiations that took place between them in June 1906 and the Anglo-Russian Agreement signed the following year stated that both countries recognized China's suzerainty over Tibet and that Russia recognized the existence of British special interests there. These points had already been included in the 1906 Convention Between Great Britain and China Respecting Tibet. The aim of including a provision recognizing China's suzerainty over Tibet was to bring about the de-sovereignization of Tibet.

In 1904, when British forces entered Lhasa, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama fled to China's interior to avoid the trouble. On the issue of the Dalai Lama returning to Tibet, the Russians and British were divided. Because of the clause in the Anglo-Russian Agreement recognizing special British interests in Tibet, the Dalai Lama, who had originally sought help from the Russians to resist the British, was forced to accept British control. At this time, the Qing government implemented a new policy

[16] Cf., Ekrall (1960).

[17] Cf. Alex Mckay, "We Want a United Tibet," *Tibet and the British Raj: The Frontier Cadre 1904–1947*, Routledge.

[18] Mckay (2003a).

[19] Alex Mckay, "We Want a United Tibet," *Tibet and the British Raj: The Frontier Cadre 1904–1947*, Routledge, p. 198.

in Tibet and the two provinces of Sichuan and Xikang, which significantly impacted upon the immediate interests of Tibet's nobility and upper-level religious figures to the extreme dissatisfaction of the Dalai Lama and clerical and secular officials. The Dalai Lama even sent a telegram to the British and Russian envoys asking them for assistance. The changing situation in Tibet meant the Qing court decided to dispatch troops to the region, and on February 12, 1910, the Sichuan Army entered Tibet. The Dalai Lama immediately escaped to India and into the hands of the British.[20] As the region's political and religious leader, the Dalai Lama became a symbol used by the British to create a "Tibetan image."

In 1911, the Xinhai Revolution erupted in China, the Sichuan Army stationed in Tibet responded to the Wuchang Uprising, a mutiny broke out, and the armies stationed in Xigazê, Gyangzê, Bowo and Jomda all marched on Lhasa, severing the Qing governments rule over Tibet. However, because of the complex composition of the Sichuan Army and incessant disputes between factions, coupled with the lack of communication with the mainland revolution, it rapidly fell into a state of chaos. As such, relations quickly deteriorated between troops stationed in Tibet and the local government, religious leaders and people. The Gyangzê garrison was even besieged, and the Sera Monastery was attacked by serfs, which led to increasing Han-Tibetan conflict in the region. During this time, the Dalai Lama was abroad and had already formulated a plan to expel Han forces, which he passed on to his aides in Tibet to organize and mobilize the people. This eventually forced the troops stationed in Tibet to lay down their arms, and on September 1, 1912, the Dalai Lama returned to Mainland of China via India.

At the same time, the Dalai Lama's plan to expel Han forces was carried out in areas with Tibetan populations in western Sichuan. Hereditary headmen, who had been made Qing officials by Zhao Erfeng, as well as tribal chiefs and monks responded and launched an armed insurrection and drove out Han forces and officials from the region, creating a dangerous situation in southwestern Sichuan. The nationalist government then sent troops to the west and proposed to the British amendments to four points in their Tibet treaty, the first of which was that Tibet would forever be a part of Chinese territory. The counterattack by the Sichuan and Yunnan army was swift, and within a few months it had pacified the provinces of Sichuan and Xikang and was preparing to enter Tibet. This change in the situation provoked a strong response from the British, who continued to put pressure on the nationalist government and even stated, "If the government of the Republic of China is set on a campaign against Tibet and continues to advance its military further west, the British government will not only sever diplomatic ties with the Republic of China, but actively assist Tibetan independence efforts."[21] Under pressure from the British, Yuan Shikai's government was forced to abandon the Sichuan and Yunnan army's westward assault on Tibet. At the same time, Yuan Shikai was forced by the outcry from people across the country to affirm the principles of China's sovereignty and the fact that Tibetan affairs are China's internal affairs in the Memorandum

[20] Cf. Zhang Zhirong (2005), pp. 226–227.

[21] Zhou Weizhou and Zhou Yuan (2008), p. 14.

proposed by the British regarding Tibet. However, the consequences of this incident were serious: first, the central government's officials and troops stationed in Tibet were forced to withdraw; second, Britain's influence over the Dalai Lama and Tibetan affairs increased significantly.

An episode in the "Tibet issue" occurred in January 1913 with the signing of the Mongolian and Tibetan Agreement between Outer Mongolia and Tibet. This incident took place while the Dalai Lama was traveling back to Lhasa from India. By that time, Outer Mongolia had already declared "independence" under the aegis of Tsarist Russia, and the Russian-born Mongolian monk Agvan Dorjiev, who had maintained contact and relations with the Dalai Lama for a long time, acted as the Tibetan representative during the signing of the treaty. This Agreement expressed the mutual recognition of status of Outer Mongolia and Tibet as independent states. This was the "Dorjiev conspiracy" instigated by Tsarist Russian forces as part of continuing efforts to win over the Dalai Lama. It had little impact, however, as the Dalai Lama and the local government in Tibet refused to acknowledge the agreement with Outer Mongolia signed by a Russian on behalf of Tibet.[22] Nevertheless, such activities by the Russians accelerated British efforts to resolve the "Tibet issue."

On October 13, 1913, a conference was held in Simla attended by representatives from China, Britain and Tibet. This tripartite meeting was convoked by the British as part of its efforts to keep pressure on China. The Chinese representative was Chen Yifan. The British representative of the Western imperialist colonial forces, Sir Arthur Henry McMahon, chaired the meeting, controlled the agenda and acted as arbiter of the conference. The representative from the local government in Tibet, Lonchen Shatra, was loyal to the British and given directions prior to the meeting regarding the formulation of the so-called Simla Accord, which stated, "Tibet is not under Chinese jurisdiction and can no longer peacefully coexist. It is hereby decided that Tibet is an independent country." It also proposed six demands, including designating the border between China and Tibet, and even the payment by the Chinese government of indemnity to Tibet.[23] This was a plan for "Tibetan independence" thrown together by the British. The plan, particularly the designation of borders led to protracted discussions on the so-called "border affair". During the conference, the British and Tibetan representatives secretly signed two agreements. The first was the new Anglo-Tibetan Trade Regulations. The second was the division of the Indian-Tibetan border: "It moved the frontier from the foothills of the Himalayas to its crests, ceding to India the large segment of Tibetan territory."[24] This inexplicable division later became known as the McMahon Line.

On July 3, 1914, at the conference in Simla, the Chinese representative refused to sign the Accord and withdrew. The documents from the meeting and the bilateral agreement signed by Britain and Tibet were therefore unlawful. However, the political ideas of Tibetan independence and Greater Tibet were formally introduced, and

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] Goldstein (1989), p. 76.

the McMahon Line, which ceded 90,000 km$^2$ of Chinese territory to India, has become a historical legacy that China and India have found difficult to resolve. It is both a product of British-planned Tibetan independence and a territorial factor in Britain's support of the "Tibet issue."

From their first invasion of Tibet in the nineteenth century to the Simla Accord, the British had political and territorial designs for Tibetan independence, but this did not change their own views on Tibetan society, culture or religion.

> *–In every house and monastery we entered on the road there were gilded images, tawdry paintings, demons and she-devils, garish frescoes on the wall, hideous grinning devil-masks, all the Lama's spurious apparatus of terrorism. These were the outward symbols of demonolatry and superstition invented by scheming priests as the fabric of their sacerdotalism.*
>
> *–The monks are the overlords, the peasantry their serfs. No doubt the Lamas employ spiritual terrorism to maintain their influence and preserve the temporal government in their hands;… little by little their ignorant serfs will be brought into contact with the facts of life, and begin to question the justness of the relations that have existed between themselves and their rulers for centuries. But at present the people are medieval, not only in their system of government and their religion, their inquisition, their witchcraft, their incantations, their ordeals by fire and boiling oil, but in every aspect of their daily life. I question if ever in the history of the world there has been another occasion when bigotry and darkness have been exposed with such abruptness to the inroad of science.*
>
> *–[Tibet is] a land of topsy-turvy and inverted proportions, where men spend half their lives mumbling unintelligible mantras and turning mechanical prayers, and when dead are cut up into mincemeat and thrown to the dogs and vultures? Yet this palace [the Potala Palace], where dwells the divine incarnation of the Bodhisat, the head of the Buddhist Church, must have witnessed more murders and instigations to crime than the most blood-stained castle of medieval Europe.*[25]

They therefore had to create a new image for Tibet, for as far as British officials were concerned, "the focus of the historical impression of Tibet is that we call the 'core' impression, that is, Tibet is a modern nation and a united country managed by government, that has complete sovereignty over itself and is capable of living on friendly terms with neighboring British India. Its behavior is commendable." The basic strategy of creating this kind of image of Tibet was an instance of Westerners constraining their own sense of superiority and hiding their disgust and denigration toward Tibet's religion, society and the people and their behavior in favor of using pleasant words, such as "kind, gentle, honest, open, and cheerful" to describe a society of feudal serfdom under theocratic rule, and doing all they could to erase China from Tibet's cultural origins and make it more Indian: "[T]his meant projecting Tibet's historical ties with India at the expense of those with China." The British wanted to create "an impression of Tibetans as worthy allies of the British."[26] To the quixotic, inquisitive and cynical nature of Westerners, while the British controlled "isolated" Tibet, through the creation of an image of Tibet, formed the "Shangri-la" image of Tibet in the popular Western imagination.[27] Even many Westerners who

[25] Cf. Candler (1905).

[26] McKay (2003b, pp. 653–657.

[27] Cf. Mckay (2003a).

had never been to Tibet or Lhasa, wrote a lot with obvious fantasies to add to the mystique already surrounding Tibet in the western imagination.[28]

Some of these people had a stylized and romantic notion of the old Tibet being a sort of Shangri-La. If not fanatical ignorance, it must have been the expression of a political attitude based on a type of ideology and differences in social systems. In fact, Western people's thoughts on Eastern mysticism were infused with more and more political factors at the start of the twentieth century, and therefore engendered a "very simple" question that exists to this day; namely, "How can the millions of intellectually inert, but good-willed seekers after the mysterious East be informed about the actual traditions of Buddhism, about the actual Tibet?"[29] In order to find an answer to this question, Western colonial powers manufactured the misleading historic and political claim that Tibet was an independent country, and this political falsehood of an independent Tibet concocted based on the Western notion of a nation state, as well as the mysterious temptation of Shangri-La, not only persist in Western society today, but after 1959 led to the fact that "the Tibetan Government-in-exile has generally carried on using that image to promote their interests."[30]

### 5.2.2 *"Taiwan Independence Force" Cultivated by Japanese and US Imperialism*

On August 15, 1945, Japan announced its unconditional surrender, signaling victory for the Chinese people who had fought a bloody 8-year war. On August 17, the Japanese Kwangtung Army conducted a ceremony to mark the demise of Manchukuo, during which Puyi took 2 min to read out his abdication edict before fleeing with his Japanese masters only to be captured by the Red Army at Shenyang Airport.[31] With that, the state of Manchukuo established by the Japanese on Chinese territory disappeared in the smoke of history, and the northeast region, along with Taiwan, returned to China.

From November 22–26, 1943, the United States, Britain and China held a summit in Cairo to discuss how to coordinate joint military operations in the war against Japan and how to deal with the political issues caused by Japan after the war. In the Cairo Declaration issued at the summit, which came to be known as the Cairo Conference, the three countries solemnly affirmed that one of the objectives of the war against Japan was to make Japan return all the Chinese territory it had seized to the Republic of China, including the four northeast provinces, Taiwan and the Penghu Islands. In Chongqing in 1944, the nationalist government established the Taiwan Investigation Commission in preparation for the return of Taiwan.

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[28] Cf. *ibid*.

[29] Agehananda Bharati, "Fictitious Tibet: The Origin and Persistence of Rampaism," http://www.serendipity.li/baba/rampa.html

[30] McKay (2003b), p. 656.

[31] Jiang Niandong et al. (1980), p. 607.

In 1945, following Japan's surrender, two Japanese military and political factions emerged on the island of Taiwan: those in favor of war and those in favor of peace. Some of the fanatical soldiers from the faction in favor of war, including Isayama Haruki, Goro Nakamiya and Yoshio Makisawa colluded with the Taiwanese gentry and plutocrats, including Lin Xiantang, a member of Japan's House of Peers, Gu Zhenfu, head of the Taiwan Tennoization Movement, and Xu Kunquan, a Japanese military police spy, planned to declare independence before Taiwan was handed back to the Chinese government. Despite efforts by the commander of the Japanese forces in Taiwan and Taiwan's governor, Ando Rikishi, to prevent it,[32] this activity can be considered the "antecedent to Taiwan independence in a strict sense and the first practice in Taiwan independence."[33] In the context of Taiwan independence, some independence forces have considered the cession of Taiwan to the Japanese by the Qing court and the declaration of the Republic of Taiwan by the island's military and civilians on May 25, 1895 as the start of the Taiwan independence movement. In fact, the military and civilians on Taiwan declared independence due to their unwillingness to live as conquered people under Japanese imperialism following China's defeat during the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895 and due to the incompetence of the Qing government. But because China recovered Taiwan by defeating the Japanese, some Japanese militarists who could not accept defeat colluded with the "Japanized" Taiwanese gentry in an independence plot, which is quite different and should not be mentioned in the same breath. However, after 1945, the latter became a "box of paints" used by "Japanized" "Taiwan independence forces."

During the handover of Taiwan to the nationalist government, the corruption of KMT officials, exclusion of local people and heavy taxation of assets further exacerbated the economic and social plight of post-war Taiwan and led to a popular revolt and the February 28 Incident. An important consequence of this incident was that provincial conflicts later became the Achilles' heel of Taiwanese politics. So-called "provincial" conflicts refers to the conflicts between the people who had moved to Taiwan prior to 1945, the "natives," and those who moved there after the Kuomintang government regained control of the island at the end of the Second World War, the "mainlanders." After retreating from Taiwan in defeat, Chiang Kai-shek thought constantly about recapturing the mainland with the support of the Americans, and imposed authoritarian rule on Taiwan, his base for resurrecting the Republic of China, where the native islanders were politically, as well as socially and culturally, repressed by the numerically inferior mainlanders. Even in the social power structure, "The dominators were usually mainlanders, while the Taiwanese were the dominated."[34] Of course, this exclusion included purges and attacks against the "Taiwan independence forces" whipped up by the Japanese just before they left the island. Unable to stay in Taiwan, the ethnic separatists who made up the "Taiwan independence force" looked overseas for their future, moving first to Japan and later

[32] Cf. Chen Chia-Hung (1998), p. 50.

[33] Sun Yun (2007), p. 15.

[34] Chang Mau-kuei (1997), p. 48.

to the US. As for the "provincial" conflicts, the atmosphere of mandatory national affiliation with the Republic of China changed the political undercurrents in Taiwanese society.

According to Samuel Huntington, the military coup that deposed the Portuguese dictatorship in 1974 marked the start of the "third wave of democratization" in the modern world, and Taiwan's political democratization was swept up in this tide.[35] This was, of course, related to Taiwan's economic and social development, but the change of status of both sides of the Straits among the international community was another important factor. Indeed, a series of changes in China's external environment, including the thawing of Sino-US relations and the People's Republic of China regaining its legitimate place in the United Nations in 1971, the signing of the *Shanghai Communiqué* during Nixon's visit to China and the establishment of diplomatic relations with Japan in 1972, as well as the establishment of diplomatic relations with the US toward the end of the decade, were all heavy blows to the KMT in Taiwan. The universal recognition of China's legitimate government by the international community meant that the KMT government and the Taiwanese authorities lost the basis for their status as the "legal rulers" of China. It also meant that the KMT's authoritarian rule and forced recognition of "Republic of China" nationalism in Taiwan lost all authority.

During this period, the non-Party movements of the "native" population of Taiwan reached a high-point, leading to the Jungli Incident and later the Kaohsiung Incident, as well as various protests demanding autonomy.[36] According to statistics, between 1980 and 1986 there were 18 types of social movements and more than 3,000 protests or petitions,[37] including the "shanbao" movement.[38] These opposition

[35] Cf. Huntington (1991), p. 62.

[36] The Jungli Incident refers to the civil unrest that followed accusations by non-party forces that the KMT was guilty of fraud during the 1977 local elections. The police station in Jungli was surrounded by people and set alight, which led to the army being called in. The next day, the Taiwanese authorities announced it would bring to justice the scrutineers involved. Calm was restored when Hsu Hsin-Liang, who not affiliated with the party, was elected leader of Taoyuan County. The Kaohsiung Incident refers to the political conflict that took place between the KMT and *Formosa* magazine published by opposition forces in 1979. On the 30th anniversary of the publication of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the magazine held an International Memorial Conference and Procession on Human Rights. The procession, which was led by the manager of the magazine, Shih Ming-teh, clashed violently with police and military police. After the incident, authorities arrested the people in charge of *Formosa* magazine, and sentenced Shih Ming-teh, Huang Shin-chieh, Lu Hsiu-lien and others to prison sentences. This incident had a major impact on the changes that occurred in Taiwan's political and social situation in the 1980s. Cf. Liu Hong and Zheng Qingyong (2001), pp. 91–95.

[37] Cf. Wang Fu-chang, "Consensus on Taiwan's Anti-Government Movement: A Comparison of the 1979 and 1989 Peaks," *Taiwan Political Science Review*, the Taiwanese Political Science Association, July 1996, No. 1, p. 173.

[38] In 1983, a Taiwan University student from the Gaoshan nationality started a campus publication called *Gao Shan Qing*, which was seen as the start of the minority nationality movement. In 1984, the Association for the Promotion of Rights of Indigenous People was established. This moved Taiwan's minority nationality movement to the more organized stage of issuing political declarations. Cf. Lin Shu-ya (2000), pp. 74, 397.

movements not only constituted a challenge to the legitimacy of the KMT regime, they also made democracy the common political aspiration of Taiwanese society. "All of a sudden, the 'hegemonic view of history' and the 'Tennoization movement' Japan used to rule Taiwan, the Taiwan independence theory designed by the US to resolve the issue of China's representation in the United Nations, and even the theories and concepts formed during Japanese occupation of Taiwan's superiority and uniqueness, all became favourites of the opposition. Suddenly, it seemed Taiwan wanted to sever relations with Chinese civilization, which created ethnic antagonism and obvious unease in society."[39]

In 1986, the first "native" Taiwanese political party – the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) – was established. This had an unprecedented impact on the "communist rebellion" under the political "martial law" of the KMT autocracy. As early as 1983, the radical forces of the non-Party movements that established the DPP supported the principle of "residents' self-determination" and declared, "Taiwan's future should be decided by the people of Taiwan." The use of the slogan "residents' self-determination" reflected the political shift of Taiwan's opposition movements from "democratization" toward "localization."[40] This demand for "political localization," which involved calls to change the name of the country, the national anthem, the national flag, history textbooks, the national language to Taiwanese (Min Nan dialect), and other concepts of "Taiwanese" identity, created a "Taiwanese nationalism" opposed to the KMT's "Chinese nationalism." They "wanted to mold a Taiwanese nationality, and the enemy that had pulled down the Taiwanese was the foreign regime of the KMT. Only by deposing the KMT could the Taiwanese restore the glory of their people."[41] This led to the DPP eventually including Taiwan independence in its manifesto and becoming a Taiwan independence party.

As social and political changes on Taiwan broke through the KMT's authoritarianism and ban on political parties, the KMT government adopted measures such as tolerating political dissent, abolishing martial law, allowing people to visit relatives on the mainland and lifting the ban on newspapers. At the same time, they accelerated the process of localizing the KMT itself by raising the status of the native elite within the party in order to maintain the legitimacy of the regime. The native elite in the KMT, therefore, became useful for diluting the party's "foreignness." It was with this political orientation of "localization" that Chiang Ching-kuo's successor, Lee Teng-hui, was able to seize power. Upon taking power, Lee Teng-hui built a "native" power structure and pandered to the political demands of the opposition movement, isolated and eliminated the old forces in the KMT that attempted to

[39] Song Guangyu (2007), p. 177.

[40] Taiwan's "localization" refers to "Taiwanization" and, at the political level, "it exaggerates the existence of Taiwan, maintains that the political regimes of Chiang Kai-shek, Chiang Ching-kuo, Lee Teng-hui and Chen Shui-bian mean that Taiwan is an 'independent sovereign state,' and implies that Taiwan should become independent from China's mainland." Xu Jielin (2002), p. 42.

[41] Wang Fu-chang, "Consensus on Taiwan's Anti-Government Movement: A Comparison of the 1979 and 1989 Peaks," *Taiwan Political Science Review*, published by the Taiwanese Political Science Association, July 1996, p. 183.

"counterattack," and eventually appointed a "native" as president of the Executive Yuan in 1983, thereby "completing the basic work of 'localizing' the KMT and the Republic of China."[42] During this process, overseas "Taiwan independence forces" snuck into Taiwan and encouraged clamorous activities by the "Taiwan independence parties," represented by the DPP, aimed at splitting from China.

From Taiwan's return to China until the 1960s, the core of "Taiwan independence forces" was located in Japan. After the war, US connivance in clearing the crimes of Japanese militarism revived the ambitions of right-wing forces in Japan toward ruling Taiwan, which focused on supporting "Taiwan independence forces." These forces quietly returned to Taiwan to try to swell their membership, create disturbances, arm supporters, establish underground organizations, violently overthrow the KMT and establish the "Democratic Republic of Taiwan."[43] Due to the KMT's strict prevention and repression of "Taiwan independence forces," they were forced to maintain a low profile and had little effect. "Taiwan independence forces" relied on the activities of the Japanese, but did not receive the support of the Japanese government. This resulted in them seeking assistance from the US, which had long been interested in the issue of Taiwan independence, to further their cause. Even before the end of Second World War, the US carried out political evaluations and strategic planning regarding Taiwan's return and status after the war. Even after the KMT government took control of Taiwan, the US did not abandon its strategic considerations on Taiwan, and encouraging Taiwan independence was still seen as a political option by the US. In 1947, at a meeting with Taiwan independence activist Liao Wenyi, the US Ambassador to China John Leighton Stuart announced, "Taiwan independence is a long and arduous road, but worth struggling for."[44] The following year Liao Wenyi organized the first overseas Taiwan independence group: the Taiwan Re-liberation Alliance. This was the result of Stuart's encouragement.

The stance of the US toward Taiwan has wavered from offering "United Nations trusteeship," to "abandoning Taiwan," to neutrality toward Taiwan, to offering aid to Taiwan. However, refusing to allow Taiwan and the Penghu Islands to fall into the hands of the Communist Party has been at the heart of all its considerations. As a result, "To achieve this goal, the most effective method has been to drive a wedge between these islands and the mainland, but the US has sought to avoid publicly and unilaterally taking responsibility for this."[45] The existence of "Taiwan independence forces" has not only allowed the US to achieve the above objective, but to do so behind-the-scenes. This has been an unchanging political strategy of imperialism in dealing with international relations, and the US has thereby created the conditions for "Taiwan independence forces." Since the 1970s, Japanese "Taiwan independence forces" have gravitated toward the US, and the preference of Taiwanese students to study in the US has also provided the "human resources" for developing Taiwan independence organizations in the US. At the same time, it has allowed the

[42] Chang Mau-kuei (1997), p. 53.

[43] Cf. Sun Yun (2007), p. 16.

[44] A quote from a secondary source: Chen Chia-Hung (1998), p. 53.

[45] *Ibid.,* p. 56.

multifarious Taiwan independence organizations in Japan, the US and Europe, which use the US as their base camp, to form the "World United Formosans for Independence."

Before 1990, the development of overseas "Taiwan independence forces" mainly concentrated on organizational and theoretical aspects. After 1990, these forces formed numerous organizations with diverse theories and practices in and outside Taiwan. According to statistics, there are currently more than 70 active overseas Taiwan independence organizations, and hundreds of active organizations (including political parties) on the island.[46] The leaders, theorists, organizers, financial backers, and other influential figures in the Taiwan independence movement number in the hundreds. There is also a very large body of books, magazines, newspapers, websites and other forms of mass media devoted to Taiwan independence. The theory behind Taiwan independence has also developed from its beginnings as a form of "Taiwanese nationalism" to encompass the ideas of a "common destiny," a "community of life," "distant neighbors," and "cultural independence." The US theories of the "trusteeship" and "undetermined status" of Taiwan also led to theories on the "self-determination of residents," "China's sovereignty being outdated," and the "new concept of sovereignty." After Lee Teng-hui came to power, an orientation toward Taiwan independence appeared in mainstream politics, and the "localization" of the KMT, which involved assisting and absorbing "native" political forces, increasing their numbers in the party, government and military, and cultivating a pro-independence ruling class, was accelerated through so-called "constitutional reform." At the same time, he proposed the notions of having "one country, two governments" and a "People's Republic of Taiwan," issued the "two states" statement, supported dividing China into seven regions, and promoted the idea of Taiwan's ideological and cultural de-Sinicization. These theories and practices of Taiwan independence eventually created the conditions for a political party that advocated Taiwan independence to come to power in 2000. Lee Teng-hui thus became the godfather of Taiwan independence.

### *5.2.3 Soviet Support of "East Turkestan Forces"*

On November 12, 1944, the Ili Liberation Organization in China's Xinjiang Province announced the establishment of the provisional government of the "East Turkestan Republic," which was reminiscent of the East Turkestan Islamic Republic established in Kashgar, Xinjiang on November 12, 1933. Obviously the choice of name – "East Turkestan" – and the date – November 12 – were not coincidences. However, the difference was that when the East Turkestan regime emerged in of 1933, the Soviet Union had pledged support to the authorities in Xinjiang to wipe it out; whereas, the East Turkestan regime that appeared in 1944 had the direct backing of the Soviet Union.

[46] Cf. Yang Lixian (2008), pp. 60–66.

Despite being embroiled in the bitter Great Patriotic War, the Soviet Union's interest in Central Asia, which had begun during the Tsarist era, had not diminished, the only difference being that the ideals it was based on had changed from territorial expansion and conquering nations to exporting revolution and national liberation. Of course, China was not yet a socialist country in 1944 and was still engaged in the nationwide War of Resistance Against Japan. Xinjiang may have been far from the battlefields of the war, but an intense struggle against class and ethnic oppression was taking place there. After the turmoil of 1933, Xinjiang's ruler Sheng Shicai publicly announced the six major policies of anti-imperialism, amity with the Soviet Union, national equality, honest government, peace and national reconstruction, which won the trust and support of the Soviet Union. On the back of this, the Soviet Union gained the rights to station troops in Xinjiang, conduct mining operations and extract oil in the region. However, with the crisis caused by the full-scale attack of the Soviet Union by Nazi Germany, Sheng Shicai began to alienate and criticize the Soviets in 1942, and pledged to Chiang Kai-shek his allegiance to the party and state. Chiang Kai-shek was keen to take this opportunity to reestablish his rule in Xinjiang and even sent Soong Mei-ling to Dihua (Urumqi) to meet with Sheng Shicai, which led to an agreement to send troops to suppress the Soviet army, for the region's foreign affairs to be controlled by the central government, to eliminate the Communist Party and to force Soviet troops out of Xinjiang.

Subsequently, in addition to adopting anti-Soviet measures including expelling Soviet experts, consultants and other personnel, Sheng Shicai began wiping out Communist Party organizations in Xinjiang, which resulted in the killing of Chen Tanqiu, Mao Zemin, Lin Jilu and other communist leaders in the region. In 1943, the KMT formally established a provincial party headquarters in Xinjiang and allowed the Americans and British to set up consulates. This was undoubtedly a major change in the geostrategic situation since the Tsarist era taken out of ideological considerations and due to the threat of war. As a result, the Soviet Union immediately decided to sever all ties with Xinjiang and withdrew all personnel. For Xinjiang, which had relied on the Soviet Union economically for some time, this was tantamount to withdrawing the firewood from under the cauldron, and the region's social and economic situation quickly descended into chaos. The KMT's political, economic and military interference in the affairs of Xinjiang undermined Sheng Shicai's attempt to rule the region as an "independent kingdom," but by that time it was already too late to turn back to the Soviet Union for assistance. The Soviet Union had decided to foster revolutionary forces, named national rejuvenation groups, among ethnic minorities in Xinjiang. The Soviets then set up special operations groups that contacted, trained and equipped various rebel groups and transported arms to Xinjiang. Among them, the Kazakh rebels under Osman Batur from the Ashan region developed rapidly with the assistance of the Soviets.[47]

In August 1944, the region of Tannu Uriankhai, having been seized historically by Tsarist Russia, returned to Chinese jurisdiction in 1918, only to declare independence at the Soviet Union's instigation in 1921, and "requested" to join the Soviet

[47] Cf. Shen Zhihua (2007), pp. 77–79.

Union under the name of the Tuvan People's Republic. By that time, the Soviet Union was engaged in a strategic counter-offensive, and was capable of easily solving these problems. In October of the same year, riots erupted in Ashan and Yining (Ghulja) in Xinjiang, and the Uyghur liberation organizations and the Soviet army small arms and the Soviet reserve army commanded by Soviet expatriates and the Soviet Consul General in Yining quickly occupied Yining. By November 12, plans for the establishment of an interim East Turkestan government had already been made. In June 1945, the Soviet Union sent 500 Red Army officers and 2,000 soldiers to support the interim East Turkestan government. Between June and September, under the orders of Soviet military advisors, the two prefectures of Tacheng (Tarbagatay) and Ashan came under the jurisdiction of the interim government of East Turkestan, which became known as the Three-District Revolution.[48]

The establishment of the "East Turkestan Republic" and the "Three-District Revolution" with the support and planning of the Soviet Union, which opposed the rule of warlord Sheng Shicai and oppression of minority nationalities by the KMT, was undoubtedly based on positive intentions, but organization and mobilization by the Soviet Union in the name of "national rejuvenation" was intensely nationalistic and thus lead to the "Three-Districts Revolution" having strong anti-Han Chinese overtones. At the same time, on January 5, 1945, the interim East Turkestan government announced the East Turkestan Republic's separation and independence from China, which highlighted the Soviet Union's intention of separating Xinjiang from China. The interim East Turkestan government established by the Soviet Union largely consisted of the feudal nobility and upper-level religious figures, with only a small number of progressive people who had received Soviet ideological education. As such, the Soviet Union viewed it as a "national liberation movement."

In February 1945, the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union held the famous Yalta Conference. During the discussion on the Soviet Union sending troops to the eastern front for the war against Japan, the Stalin set a number of preconditions, one of which was to "maintain the status quo in Outer Mongolia." The so-called "status quo in Outer Mongolia" meant an independent Mongolian People's Republic under the aegis of the Soviet Union. On this issue, the KMT held several failed negotiations with Stalin, and were eventually forced to accept it. At the same conference they signed the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance, which allowed for a referendum on the issue of Mongolian independence. On January 5, 1946, based on the result of the referendum of the Mongolian People's Republic, China's Nationalist government accepted Outer Mongolia's independence in accordance with the Sino-Soviet treaty, meaning China lost a further 1.5 million square kilometers of territory.[49]

The settlement of this outstanding historical issue between China and the Soviet Union put to bed the issue of independence of the interim East Turkestan government. Stalin withdrew his support for the interim government and began to urge progressive forces within the government to enter negotiations. This ultimately led

[48] Cf. Li Sheng (2003), p. 197.

[49] Hao Shiyuan and Du Shiwei (2007), p. 91.

to the announcement on June 27, 1946, that the East Turkestan Republic had been disbanded. The Three-Districts Revolution was thus ushered onto the tracks of the new-democratic revolution in China, which created the conditions for Xinjiang's eventual peaceful liberation.

Regardless of whether the Soviet Union's support for an East Turkestan Republic was born of an inherited imperial mentality from the Tsarist era of coveting Xinjiang or the desire for revenge for Shen Shicai harming Soviet interests, or whether it was to achieve Outer Mongolian independence and further Soviet interests in China, its conduct was not that of a socialist country pursuing internationalism, and the reemergence of "East Turkestan" and its continuation of the events of 1933 left the People's Republic of China with the historical legacy of another "nationality issue" to contend with.

## 5.3 Safeguarding National Unity and Opposing Ethnic Separatism

In 1957, Mao Zedong stated, "The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities – these are the basic guarantees for the sure triumph of our cause."[50] This has been a fundamental idea rigidly adhered to by the CPC, as well as an unchanging fundamental principle for safeguarding China's national sovereignty, territorial integrity and achieving the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

### *5.3.1 The Need for the People's Liberation Army to Enter Tibet*

The establishment of the People's Republic of China brought an end to the colonial aggression and the dismemberment and division of the country wrought by imperialist powers in China since 1840, and meant that the Chinese people had achieved national self-determination and established an independent modern state under the leadership of the CPC. Like the world's other modern states, New China had the conviction and would take firm action to safeguard sovereignty and territorial integrity. The imperialist invasions of Chinese territory by land and sea that had taken place in China's recent history could no longer take place. The military force safeguarding national sovereignty, territorial security and the people's interests – the People's Liberation Army (PLA) – would fight courageously and shed blood to protect every inch of Chinese territory. Therefore, in the course of the War of Liberation, whether in the annihilation of the KMT army, wiping out bandits and local armed forces, or achieving peaceful liberation, the PLA became the guardians

[50] Mao Zedong (1987a), p. 316.

of the country and the people, and Xinjiang, Tibet and other borders areas were no exception. This was a basic requirement for defending new China, defending the socialist system, and safeguarding the fundamental interests of the Chinese nation.

Nevertheless, following the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the Tibetan local government intensified its independence activities. It first sought help from the British in joining the United Nations, and later turned to the US for assistance. The local government of Tibet undoubtedly played on the concerns of the West after the iron curtain descended: In view of the spread of communism and its success in China, there is an imminent danger that communism will invade Tibet.[51] If the British imperialist invasion of Tibet and the manufacture of "Tibetan independence" was born of the necessity of colonial occupation, then after the Second World War, and particularly after 1949, the interest, conspiracies and blatant lies of Britain, the United States and other Western countries and their support for and flattery of the Dalai Lama and his exiled forces was aimed at serving the struggle between different ideologies and different social systems of the Cold War. Local Tibetan political and religious forces, which have always been regarded by Westerners as conservative and xenophobic, sensitively felt the pulse of Western forces and gave the "Tibet issue," which had been manufactured by British colonialists, an anti-communist and anti-socialist slant. New China was a country with a socialist system implemented by the CPC leadership, and the local government in Tibet wanted to carry out socialist political, economic, cultural and social construction through democratic reforms. Any choice that ran counter to this would be eliminated in the history of New China. Therefore, suspicious of foreign forces, Mao Zedong categorically pointed out, "The Chinese army must go to all the places in Tibet it should go to, regardless of whether the Tibetan local government is willing to negotiate or not and the outcome of negotiations. No foreign country has the right to interfere in this."[52]

Following the peaceful liberation of Tibet in 1951, the Chinese central government showed maximum understanding and tolerance toward Tibet's democratic reform process, confirmed the positions of the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Erdeni at the national political level, making them leading members of the supreme bodies of power in New China, and arranged for the Dalai Lama to preside over the work of the Preparatory Committee of the Autonomous Region of Tibet. Because "Buddhism enjoys great authority among the Tibetan people, people have great faith in the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Erdeni. Therefore, the agreement not only stipulates that religion shall be respected and temples shall be protected, but the status and authority of the two aforementioned leaders of the Tibetan people shall be respected."[53]

However, starting in 1956, under the instigation and organization of some in Tibet's local government, successive insurgencies occurred in the Tibetan region of Kham. Moreover, during a visit to India, the Dalai Lama was enslaved by forces

[51] Cf. Shakya (2000).

[52] Mao Zedong (2008a), p. 34.

[53] Mao Zedong (2008b), p. 50.

seeking Tibetan independence and an armed uprising, including the US from whom he had sought assistance, and had to make a political choice between pinning his hopes on the US and other foreign forces, on the one hand, and adhering to the 17 Point Agreement for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet on the other. This led him to contrive various armed uprisings upon returning to Lhasa, to the extent that organized opposition to regional national autonomy and demands for the PLA to leave Tibet emerged in Lhasa, and the Kashag actively supported and encouraged his group to protest against the Chinese central government, only wanting to maintain secret contact with them.[54] Of course, this was a trick learned from British and American imperialists. At the time, the British and the US tactic on the "Tibet issue" was to not publicly acknowledge Tibetan independence, but secretly support Tibetan independence activities. After the uprisings occurred in Tibet in 1959, the Dalai Lama and his forces exiled abroad referred to the PLA entering Tibet as "the PLA's invasion of Tibet" in order to manufacture and promote the internationalization of the "Tibet issue", and went on to start an international public opinion battle over historical ownership and sovereignty. In fact, behind these separatist forces always lay the "black hand" of Western imperialism, including the separationist uprising of 1959.

One day in autumn of 1957, a cheer could be heard from the CIA building in the US. The reason was that they had received a telegram from somewhere next to the Brahmaputra River, 60 miles south of Lhasa confirming that Tibetan agents trained and airdropped by the US had successfully made it into China's Tibet.[55] Secret agents (or Special Forces) slipping across the border into Tibet, which would not seem out of place in the plot of a Hollywood movie, was part of the US's "Tibetan action" since it "rediscovered Tibet" and considered Tibet a "bulwark against the spread of communism throughout Asia."[56] The five Tibetan secret agents airdropped by the Americans were given 4 months of professional training on Saipan Island in "explosives, transmitting messages, skydiving, mapping, map reading, outdoor survival, intelligence gathering, hand-to-hand combat, camouflage, translation, using passwords and other undercover techniques," as well as "ground controlled airdrops, organizing small bands of guerillas, using various firearms and explosives, ambushing and counter-ambushing, and other guerilla tactics." The purpose of training and airdropping these people was to make it known to the Dalai Lama that the US was willing to intervene in the "Tibet issue" having been invited to do so by the Kashag government, while allowing them to organize Tibet's armed forces to defend Tibetan Buddhism. In 1958 and 1959, the US twice arranged airdrops of weapons to these insurrectionists.[57] In 1959, when the Dalai Lama fled Tibet, among his band of exiles "there was another of these CIA operatives amongst the party, a radio operator who was apparently in touch with his headquarters throughout the

[54] Cf. Shakya (2000).

[55] Cf. Knaus (1999), pp. 1–2.

[56] *Ibid., p.* 25.

[57] Li Jianglin (2010), pp. 147, 148, 158.

journey."[58] He even asked the US to "drop enough weapons to arm 30,000 people." Although the US had no plans for such a massive aid program, "Over the next three years 30 airdrops were made," providing 250 t of weapons, equipment and other military supplies. Beginning in 1958, for 6 years the United States conducted training activities for Tibetan militia members at Camp Hale in Colorado.[59]

As mentioned above, Tibet was the region that retained the system of class oppression longest following the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949. Abolishing the theocratic system of feudal serfdom was the objective of democratic reform in Tibet, as well as a requirement for building socialism. The Chinese Central People's Government was extremely clear about the implementation of the basic principles of this reform requiring the consent of the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Erdeni as well as the consent of the Tibetan people, and Mao Zedong pointed out in a conversation with the Dalai Lama, "An important precondition of Tibet's reform is that we receive the approval of officials of the Tibetan local government and lamas, or at least the approval of the majority, before moving ahead."[60] Based on the problems that arose in the process of implementing democratic reform in Sichuan, Mao Zedong stated, "Democratic reform is necessary, and the decision to implement reforms is correct. Nevertheless, we have some shortcomings. The shortcomings are that there have been too few consultations and we have not listened to enough opinions, prepared enough, conceded enough, or been flexible enough. The central committee share responsibility for these things."[61] Nevertheless, this attitude of doing everything humanly possible did not alter the Dalai Lama's political choices, and he even deliberately erased Mao Zedong's reply regarding Tibet's democratic reform from his historical memory in order to confuse people.

The Dalai Lama has claimed that in the summer of 1956, he sent a letter to Mao Zedong about the problems that had arisen in Sichuan and sent another letter through official channels. "As the weeks went by and I had still heard nothing from Peking, I began for the first time really to doubt the intentions of the Chinese leadership."[62] In fact, on August 18, 1956, in reply to the Dalai Lama's letter, Mao Zedong stated, "I received both the letters you sent, and I was very pleased…We all know a lot about you and believe that you will do a good job of the work in Tibet. I am always concerned that the cooperation between the Han Chinese there and your people is not going well and is not trusted by the Tibetan people. I invite you to take it upon yourself to strictly educate Han Chinese who commit mistakes, and treat them as you would your own cadres."[63] This was the trust and encouragement bestowed by Mao Zedong upon the Vice Chairman of the National People's Congress and the Director of the Preparatory Committee of the Autonomous Region of Tibet. By denying historical facts, the Dalai Lama fabricated a "change in CPC policy" to

[58] The Dalai Lama (1991), p. 140.

[59] Cf. Knaus (1999), pp. 1–2.

[60] Mao Zedong (2008c), p. 110.

[61] Mao Zedong (2008d), p. 152.

[62] The Dalai Lama (1991), p. 111.

[63] Mao Zedong (2008e), p. 154.

cover up his desire to create an insurgency aimed at Tibetan independence, which not only revealed his class position of wanting to maintain the theocratic system of feudal serfdom, but also signaled that he would continue to engage in activities to split the motherland, the people and the Chinese nation in accordance with the political designs of Western imperialists to create Tibetan independence.

In Western discourses about the 1959 uprising in Lhasa, the event has been cloaked in the terminology of being a "popular uprising" and "ethnic struggle." In reality, however, it was a class struggle. It was a contest between the ruling class forces of the theocratic system of feudal serfdom and the socialist system. The planners and organizers who launched the uprising were people from Tibet's three highest classes, with support and aid from the US and other imperialist forces, while some ordinary Tibetans were tricked and incited to participate by calls to "defend religion" and "protect the Dalai Lama." This was a complex class struggle that used ethnic and religious factors to conceal the objective of maintaining the system of class rule, as well as a "mass uprising" most easily incited, launched and manufactured under the ruling regime of the local Tibetan theocracy. It did not represent the interests of the vast majority of Tibetans, but rather utilized the Tibetan masses' religious piety and reverence for the Dalai Lama. Therefore, the intrinsic motivation for launching and controlling the uprising was the desire of ruling class forces among Tibet's ruling political and religious elite to stubbornly resist democratic reform and safeguard their vested interests.

In 1956, when the CPC Central Committee summed up the lessons it had learnt from the incident in Kham, Mao Zedong pointed out, "The war is basically a class struggle, rather than an ethnic struggle. The ringleader of the uprising believes it is an ethnic struggle. They use the phrase 'defend our nation and religion' to deceive some of the masses; the war has a mass character.… From our perspective, the objective of the war is to liberate the vast majority of minority nationalities, develop their production and improve their lives…. When reforming Tibet areas west of the Jinshan River we must avoid conflict. We will do everything possible to do the work, but conflict can be avoided."[64] But why was it not avoided? The problem was the duplicity of the Dalai Lama. The Central People's Government fully understood the political and religious statuses of the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Erdeni in Tibet, and therefore conferred on the Dalai Lama the political status of a state leader in the hope that he would consciously implement reform of the old system in Tibet for the noble interests of China and the Chinese nation, so that the Tibetan people could be rid of the oppression of the theocratic system of feudal serfdom. The Dalai Lama once said of this, "Tibet is backward in every respect. But we can assure the Chairman, under your leadership and that of the Communist Party of China, we will certainly do all that needs to be done in Tibet and constantly improve."[65] On the other hand, the Dalai Lama was heavily influenced by the Kashag government, close confidants and even Tibetan independence forces abroad seeking Western assistance. Ultimately, in the political choice regarding "delivering all living

[64] Mao Zedong (2008d), pp. 151–152.

[65] Mao Zedong (2008f), p. 114.

creatures from torment" he chose the path of safeguarding his personal interests and those of the minority, and turned his back on the religious path of "study[ing] the way of Sakyamuni and seek[ing] benefit for the sake of the masses and all Tibetan people."[66]

As previously above, the Tibetan uprising in 1959 was inseparable from the context of the nationwide Great Leap Forward and the creation of people's communes, and the dramatic changes that took place in Tibet and Tibetan areas of the mainland were undoubtedly used as an excuse for launching the uprising. However, class issues in Tibet had not been resolved, and armed rebel forces assisted by the US and other Western forces had already created an atmosphere: "By the end of 1958, the region's rebel forces had already grown to 23,000 people."[67] This is also a fact. In response to this situation, in October 1959, Mao Zedong made the following judgment: "In a few years, for example in three or four years, five or six years, or seven or eight years, there will be a decisive battle, which will completely resolve the issue."[68] This showed that, even under the prevailing situation and despite the rash advance of the mainland, the timetable for democratic reform in Tibet would not take place ahead of time. At the same time, it revealed a substantive issue: even if the ruling powers continued to resist democratic reform and organized class antagonism involving an armed uprising aimed at independence, it would not resolve the problems. The PLA troops stationed in Tibet would have to make the necessary preparations to fight the enemy. This was a sacred duty for safeguarding national unity, territorial integrity and the well-being of the people. When this "decisive battle" would take place was to be decided by the Tibetan political and religious forces representing the class interests of the three ruling ranks and resisting democratic reform.

### *5.3.2 Opposing Internationalization of the "Tibet Issue"*

In 1959, the 14th Dalai Lama and his political followers turned their backs on the motherland and the people, and set off into political exile. They settled in India, where they established a so-called "government in exile" which continued the traditional Tibetan theocratic system within the Western democratic framework of the separation of powers. The so-called Constitution of the Tibetan Government in Exile stipulated that the supreme powers of government belonged to the Dalai Lama, making it a theocratic group in exile. However, the head of this secretive political and religious institution usually associated with Europe during the Middle Ages who used his "leadership status" to maintain theocratic power for 60 years, was lauded as a democratic model, a symbol of peace and awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

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[66] Mao Zedong (2008g), p. 131.

[67] The CPC History Data Collection Committee of the Tibet Autonomous Region and the Leading Group of the Tibet Military Area for Collecting CPC History Data (1995), p. 17.

[68] Mao Zedong (2008g), p. 131.

It was only in 2011, when the Dalai Lama announced his "political retirement" and the Tibetan government in exile carried out "democratic" elections among the so-called overseas Tibetans, which made a Tibetan-American Sikyong (head of government), that this theocratic group finally separated religion from government, and changed its name to the Central Tibetan Administration. But why did the Western world turn a blind eye to this political vestige of the Middle Ages and even paint it in the light of "human rights," "democracy" and "peace"? Why did Westerners forget the contempt and discrimination with which their ancestors had described Tibetan society, the people and Tibetan Buddhism before 1950, and instead create the idyllic image of Tibet as "Shangri-La"? Why do Westerners disapprove of the actual achievements made in Tibet in the areas of the economy, society, cultural life, religious beliefs and environmental protection, but rather pander to the Dalai Lama's theories on the decline of Tibetan culture, the extinction of Tibetan Buddhism and the destruction of Tibet's ecological environment? There are two reasons: The first is that, for the past half a century, the Dalai Lama and his fellow exiles have constantly sought to engineer public opinion in the international community by swearing black is white. The second reason is that the US and other Western forces cannot tolerate or allow a socialist power to succeed at building socialism, which was particularly true prior to the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

Since the Dalai Lama fled abroad in 1959, he and his government in exile have constantly adhered to the "Tibet impression" designed and fabricated by British colonial forces, and talked to the international community about the "harmony," "peace" and "joy" that once existed in "independent" Tibet. But we never hear any condemnation about the old Tibetan theocratic system of feudal serfdom and the profound suffering it brought to the Tibetan people, just the regurgitated explanation that in the old Tibet, "the relationship between landlord and serf was much milder in Tibet than in China."[69] The reason for this is simple: contempt, disgust and condemnation of medieval serfdom in society do not fit in with Westerner's concept of human rights. If the Dalai Lama was to acknowledge the cruelty in old Tibet then the power and social status he lost in Tibet would no longer be talked about with sadness; any honest person in the world would feel that these historical deeds were "holy" hypocrisy; and anybody in the world who saw old Tibet's dark side would be able to make an objective evaluation of the human rights situation in Tibet today. Because of this, keeping the truth about old Tibet a closely guarded secret is a necessary political strategy of the Dalai Lama and his group, which means they continue to attack and denigrate the achievements of protecting human rights and economic and social development in the Tibet Autonomous Region in order to continue the myth of the "Tibet impression." This led to "the Dalai Lama's chronic problem of being forced to use Western concepts, many of which are inapplicable or irrelevant, to put his case before the world."[70] And "the status of Tibet under international law," "sovereign relations," "independent states," "colonial aggression," "assimilation," "depopulation," "religious destruction," "cultural genocide,"

[69] The Dalai Lama (1991), p.101.

[70] Cf. Knaus (1999).

"ecological damage" and other topics have become areas of speculation by international forces aiding Tibet. However, since the Dalai Lama won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1989, such speculation has become the main thrust behind the internationalization of the "Tibet issue."

On the "Tibet issue," the US and other Western countries implemented the strategy in the 1950s of arming and providing aid to Tibet and subverting China's sovereignty in the region. After the 1960s, there was a period when the "Tibet issue" was left out in the cold. This meant that the first time the Dalai Lama visited the US, he "held the view that US was the Champion of freedom actually very few people had any knowledge of the fate of the Tibet," and that "the American political system does not live up to its own ideals."[71] At the same time, the Dalai Lama realized that the American people's support on the so-called "Tibet issue" "not because they cared about Tibetan independence, but as part of their worldwide efforts to destabilize all Communist governments."[72] Therefore, as a political exile, the Dalai Lama realized that to succeed he would have to serve this strategic objective of the US, otherwise he and his group would become irrelevant. He not only needed to continue to manufacture the "Tibet impression" internationally and attach this impression with the issue of human rights and other moral labels preached by the Western world, but continue to manufacture the image of China as violating human rights and freedom of religious belief to help Western powers achieve their objective of overthrowing the Chinese regime. The riots that took place in Lhasa in 1987 to publicize Tibetan independence were the start of the Dalai Lama clique's subversive activities to split China from within Tibet.

Since then, the Dalai Lama and his efforts to internationalize the "Tibet issue" have gone from strength to strength. After the "political turmoil" in China in 1989, the Western world's sanctions against and isolation of China, along with the collapse of the Soviet Union, led to the provocation of domestic disturbances in China and international intervention on the grounds of human rights and democracy aimed at the evolution of China (Westernization and polarization). The "Tibet issues" preached by the Dalai Lama became an important basis for Western countries to interfere in China's internal affairs, the stigmatization of China's internal affairs in international public opinion, and Western civil society's misunderstanding of China's internal affairs. Amid this trend, China's work in Tibet has come up against the following unprecedented international challenges:

First, the international activities of the Dalai Lama and his forces have constantly expanded. Not only does the Dalai Lama lobby countries around the world, mainly Western countries, each year, making up lies to mislead people,[73] his organizations are constantly expanding their scope, with the focus on Western countries, in order to exert influence on Western government leaders, parliaments, think

[71] The Dalai Lama (1991), p. 198.

[72] *Ibid.,* p. 122.

[73] Cf. Tang Jiawei (2003), pp. 409–456.

tanks, media and people using propaganda tools such as petitions, demonstrations, hearings and networks.

Second, for the sake of strategic interests, for example to claim the moral high ground, satisfy domestic political struggles and voters' wishes, and achieve the political objective of applying pressure to China, leaders of the US and other Western countries have made meeting the Dalai Lama an important duty during their term of office and the "Tibet issue" an important part of their dialogue with China. This has led to the establishment of pro-Tibetan parliamentary groups in the parliaments of Western countries, including Eastern European countries and others, which constantly seek to interfere in China's internal affairs through resolutions on the "Tibet issue."

Third, in the international community numerous Tibetan aid organizations have been formed, such as the International Conference of Tibet Support Groups and the Free Tibet Movement, and organization to make people aware of the Dalai Lama's "Tibet issue," including student organizations, religious organizations, Hollywood stars, countless networks that aid Tibet and various "street politics" movements, and even Hollywood blockbusters (such as *Kundun*, *Little Buddha*, *Seven Years in Tibet* and *2012*), which exert influence over Western civil society and the world as a whole.

Fourth, so-called political dissidents and dissenting organizations (such as "pro-democracy" organizations), which have connections with the US and other Western countries, as well as separatist forces that support Taiwan independence, the establishment of East Turkestan and the Southern Mongolia movement, are all intertwined with the Dalai Lama and his forces, and carry out various "street politics" activities by establishing so-called Sino-Tibetan alliances and other organizations, and strengthen their subversion of Chinese socialism and ethnic separatism by vigorously supporting the Dalai Lama and enhancing his international influence.

Fifth, the "Tibet issue" played up by the Dalai Lama and his exiled forces has become a topic (mainly Western) Tibetologists are keen to prove. Multidisciplinary commentaries through scholarly discourse and academic writing on Tibet's history, sovereignty, the 1959 armed rebellion, Tibet's economic and social development and protecting human rights have provided "historical facts," "laws" and "empirical evidence" for various views on the so-called "Tibet issue." In response to the *100 Questions and Answers on Tibet* issued by the Chinese government, a number of well-known scholars who have conducted research on Tibet from the US, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway and other countries queried, refuted and provided new answers to each, with not entirely neutral motives, which were published in a book titled *Authenticating Tibet: Answers to China's 100 Questions*, which was a masterpiece in this area.[74]

The "Tibet issue" promoted by the Dalai Lama and the so-called non-violent "middle way" that derived from this has made China's Tibetan affairs the most international topic of the country's internal affairs. The CPC and Chinese govern-

[74] Blondeau et al. (2011), Preface iv.

ment have always opposed the interference of international forces in China's internal affairs, which has also been China's unwavering principle with respect to Tibetan affairs. Of course, China not only faces the aforementioned serious international struggles in relation to the so-called "Tibet issue," it also faces infiltration, interference and sabotage activities in Tibet and areas inhabited by Tibetans that are carried out by exiled forces abroad and the international forces that support them. Their aim is to initiate and stir up internal unrest and rioting in China, and to constantly strengthen international support for the "Tibet issue" so as to manufacture an excuse for attaining Tibetan independence. These actions eventually triggered the serious violence in Lhasa on March 14, 2008. The international background to this incident was that China was preparing to host the Olympic Games for the world, which was an opportunity for China to showcase its great achievements in reform and opening up and to make it clear to all that China had become an important force for world peace and development, as well as being a landmark event on the Chinese people's path to achieving the great rejuvenation of the nation. This symbol of China's rise was difficult to face and to accept for the Dalai Lama and his overseas separatist forces as well as anti-China Western forces. As a result, they "viewed the Beijing Olympic Games as their 'final chance' to change from striving to mainly engage with China to mainly applying pressure to China, unscrupulously attempted to disrupt Tibetan areas in China in order to attract international attention and interference, and to vainly attempt to create a breakthrough on the issue of so-called Tibetan independence."[75]

Since reform and opening up began, under the guidance of the strategic decision-making involving "the Central Committee's attention, national support, and one-to-one assistance for Tibet," constant progress and growth has been made in economic, social and other undertakings in the Tibet Autonomous Region, which is something the Dalai Lama and his exiled forces are unwilling to acknowledge. After the Dalai Lama went into exile, apart from the influence he still enjoys from his title which is revered by monks of Tibetan Buddhism, he has not brought Tibetan monks or people any real benefit. The Tibet Development Outline he formulated is his self-confessed "illusion to comfort himself", which includes malicious attacks against policies and measures of the central government and the government of the Tibet Autonomous Region that accelerate Tibet's economic and social development and improve people's lives. Therefore, they greatly fear the achievements attained in Tibet's economic, social and other undertakings, and must hinder and undermine this development. Inciting incidents that affect social stability and undermine development and manufacturing vicious acts of arson have inevitably become the true acts of his so-called "non-violent" stance. During the Olympic torch relay, the Dalai Lama's forces and Western Tibetan aid organizations instigated attacks, disruptions and even tried to snatch the torch. Because the Olympic Games do not discriminate against race, religion, language, ideology, social system or size of countries and are

[75] Jia Qinglin (2010), p. 273.

an equal and peaceful competition with the highest level of participation and globalization, these destructive activities were an act of blasphemy against China, the world and the idea of human peace.[76]

In fact, even after the Dalai Lama went into exile, the central government always expressed its repentance and willingness to start with a clean slate and left some leeway, and it "also elected him as Vice Chairman of the NPC and held his seat as Director of the Preparatory Committee of the Autonomous Region of Tibet."[77] Even after the establishment of the Tibet Autonomous Region, the Central Committee did not alter its basic principle of welcoming him back to the motherland if he accepted that Tibet is part of China and abandoned his advocacy of independence. After reform and opening up began, the central government communicated repeatedly with representatives of the Dalai Lama, and set up a mechanism for contact and negotiations in 2002 between the relevant central government departments and the Dalai Lama's private representatives, which led to a consensus on the future of the Dalai Lama and those close to him. However, the Dalai Lama always maintained the stance that Tibet was an independent country, attempted to argue that Tibet was invaded and occupied by the Chinese, and sought the status of negotiating on behalf of the interests of all Tibetans. Even during negotiations after the rioting in Lhasa on March 14, 2008, the Dalai Lama issued the Memorandum on Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan People, which came up with a design for the "middle road" without independence. In reality this was an attempt to boost the international wave of Tibetan aid and Western pressure set off by the incident in Lhasa on March 14 and a separatist manifesto aimed at "forcing the emperor to abdicate," and it was a slander and subversion of the basic political system of socialism with Chinese characteristics. These ideas and this behavior of the Dalai Lama meant negotiations had no prospect of moving forward.

In order to help the international community correctly understand China's Tibetan affairs, the Chinese government began in 1992 to publish a series of white papers on issues including Tibet's sovereignty, human rights, cultural development, the modernization process, ecological construction and environmental protection, regional national autonomy, democratic reform and peaceful liberation.[78] These important declarations not only provided a multifaceted interpretation of the history and current situation in Tibet and exposed the lies the Dalai Lama has fed to the international community, but they clearly emphasized the important principle related to China's core interests: "Tibet is part of Chinese territory, and the 'Tibet issue' is China's internal issue." At the same time, the Chinese government publicized and promoted the real Tibet to the world through various means in order to expose the falseness of the "Tibet impression" and show the truth about Tibet's development progress.

[76] Cf. Hao Shiyuan (1998).

[77] Mao Zedong (2008h), p. 205.

[78] Cf. Wang Chen (2010).

### 5.3.3 *Peaceful Reunification and "One Country, Two Systems"*

In 1959, Mao Zedong said, "Two issues remain unresolved: the Tibet issue and the Taiwan issue."[79] The "Tibet issue" was about how to implement democratic reforms, while the Taiwan issue was about how to liberate the island. Of course, these two issues were very different. On the issue of how to liberate Taiwan, because the US occupied Taiwan and was attempting to create "two Chinas," the CPC decided upon some basic principles: First, "We shall not forget that Taiwan, a part of the motherland's sacred territory, has not yet been liberated. The issue of liberating Tibet is entirely China's internal issue."[80] Second, after the Bandung Conference, it was proposed that "In addition to using warfare to liberate Taiwan, the possibility of liberating Taiwan by peaceful means also exists…. strive to liberate Taiwan by peaceful means."[81] Third, "Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu are all part of China; not a separate country. There is only one China on earth; not two."[82] Under the prevailing historical conditions, the US and other Western forces attempted to create a pattern of divide and conquer in the Strait of Taiwan and to create "two Chinas;" however, the KMT authorities were obsessed with counterattacking and recovering the mainland and struck severe blows at the island's independence forces, so there was no issue of Taiwan independence from the Taiwan authorities. The key issue was who would represent China and occupy the legitimate seat in the United Nations.

As the defeated country in the Second World War, Germany was split into East and West Germany under the terms of the Postdam Agreement. Later, Korea was divided into North and South Korea along the 38th parallel, and the Geneva Conference divided Vietnam into North and South Vietnam to resolve the problem created by the Indochina War. However, the Cairo Declaration stipulated that Taiwan would return to China, and no international treaty existed to create two Chinas. Nevertheless, similar to the situations in Germany, Korea and Vietnam, a confrontation over ideologies and social systems existed between the two sides of the Strait, and segregation influenced by the Cold War confrontation was created by the Chinese civil war and US intervention. As a result, in its internal affairs, the CPC continued to adhere to the basic principles of using force to regain and peacefully liberate its territory, and resolutely opposed interference in China's internal affairs by the US and other external forces. In 1971, during Henry Kissinger's secret visit to China, the Taiwan issue was the focus of discussions between the two sides. China's stance was very clear: the US must recognize that Taiwan is a province of

[79] Mao Zedong (2008i), p. 209.

[80] Mao Zedong (1987b), p. 142.

[81] Mao Zedong, "Revisions of the Political Report to the Second Session of the Second CPPCC National Committee," *Works of Mao Zedong Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China, ibid.*, p. 33.

[82] "Message of the Ministry of Defense of the People's Republic of China to Our Taiwan Compatriots," the CPC Central Committee's Party Literature Research Office (ed.), *Collected Works of Mao Zedong,* People's Publishing House, Beijing, 1999, Vol. VII, p. 420.

China; the Taiwan issue is China's internal affair; the US must withdraw US troops stationed on Taiwan and abrogate the Taiwan-US Mutual Defense Treaty.[83] During Sino-US negotiations on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, in 1976 the US announced that it would gradually withdraw US forces stationed on Taiwan. In 1978, the US agreed to the natural termination of the Taiwan-US Mutual Defense Treaty at the end of 1979, while China agreed not to raise the issue of "liberating Taiwan" again, but to replace it with "reunifying the motherland."

According to the Joint Communiqué of the People's Republic of China and the United States on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations, issued on December 16, 1978, the United States "acknowledges the Chinese position that there is but one China and Taiwan is part of China and recognizes the People's Republic of China as the sole government of China."[84] Of course, the US did not abandon its economic strategy in Taiwan, and in April 1979, the US introduced the Taiwan Relations Act as domestic legislation promising to continue its security responsibilities to Taiwan. At that time, the "opposition movement" and "democratization" process dominated by native islanders also began. "Taiwan independence forces" in Taiwan appeared and started colluding with overseas "Taiwan independence forces," which gave rise to a movement in which political parties that supported Taiwan independence sought political power. At the same time, the reform and opening up process that had begun on the mainland was creating a new situation of peaceful reunification.

In 1978, Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "In resolving the Taiwan issue, we will respect the reality of Taiwan. For example, some of Taiwan's institutions will remain the same, US and Japanese investments in Taiwan will not be touched, and the lifestyle there will not be altered. But we shall unify."[85] On another occasion, he again stated that, "Taiwan's current social system and our current social system, of course, are different. In resolving the Taiwan issue, we will give consideration to this particular problem."[86] These ideas were reflected in the Message to Compatriots in Taiwan issued by the NPC Standing Committee in January 1979, that is, to respect the status quo on Taiwan and the opinions of people in all walks of life there and adopt reasonable policies and measures in settling the question of reunification. Afterwards, Deng Xiaoping repeatedly talked about resolving the Taiwan issue, such as, "As a local government, the Taiwan authorities has its own power, in that it can have its own army, continue trade and commercial relations with foreign countries, continue nongovernmental exchanges and not alter its current policies or current lifestyle. But it must be under the condition of there being only one China."[87] "As a local government of China, it has full autonomy."[88] In 1981, NPC Standing Committee Chairman Ye Jianying gave a speech on Taiwan policy in which he

[83] Cf. Li Songlin and Yang Jianying (2009), p. 117.

[84] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

[85] Deng Xiaoping (1998), p. 91.

[86] "Talk About the Taiwan Question When Meeting with American Friend Arch Steele," *ibid.,* p. 97.

[87] "Talk about the Taiwan Question with Hedley Donovan, an Editor in Chief of Time Inc. of the United States," *ibid.*, p. 170.

[88] "Talk with Japanese Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira," *ibid.*, p. 175.

explicitly proposed nine principles, including that, "After the country is reunified, Taiwan can enjoy a high degree of autonomy as a special administrative region and it can retain its armed forces. The Central Government will not interfere with local affairs on Taiwan." Deng Xiaoping later clarified this, "In reality there is one country, two systems. It is permissible to have two systems. They must not undermine the mainland's system, nor shall we undermine their system. Having a united country is the aspiration of the Chinese nation."[89] The political wisdom of "one country, two systems" embodies the idea of being "harmonious but different."

On August 17, 1982, the Joint Communiqué of the People's Republic of China and the United States of America was signed. This reaffirmed that the US had no intention to pursue the policy of having "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan." On this point, while congratulating both sides for reaching agreement, Deng Xiaoping also solemnly pointed out to the US, "The issue of Taiwan is entirely China's internal affair. In the Communiqué, China reiterated its policy of striving for a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan issue, which does not imply a commitment by China to the US or anyone else, nor should it be misinterpreted as meaning resolving the Taiwan issue is a precondition for the US ceasing arms sales to Taiwan." He particularly stressed that a dark cloud hung over Sino-US relations: the Taiwan Relations Act.[90] China would not recognize US extraterritorial jurisdiction, and US courts were useless against China. "The Taiwan Relations Act is the greatest issue in Sino-US relations. Without a change to this law, I fear it will be very difficult for Sino-US relations to develop significantly and satisfactorily."[91] "In the eyes of the Chinese people, does this not constitute interference in China's internal affairs? What sort of law can US Congress impose on the Chinese people? Which doctrine is this?"[92] This resolute principled stance fully expressed the Chinese government and Chinese people's opposition to foreign interference in China's internal affairs, and conveyed China's unwavering determination to achieve the great cause of Cross-Strait reunification.

"Peaceful reunification" does not mean ruling out the use of force. Nor does "one country, two systems" mean "complete autonomy" for Taiwan. "There must be limits to autonomy, and where there are limits, nothing can be complete. 'Complete autonomy' means two Chinas, not one. … As a special administrative region, Taiwan will have a local government, it will differ from local governments of other provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. Provided the national interests are not impaired, it will enjoy certain powers of its own that the others do not possess."[93] This is a prerequisite and condition of the "One-China" principle. The CPC's ideas of "peaceful reunification" and "one country, two systems" was

[89] "Talk with Yao Tzu Li, President of the Chinese American Association," *ibid.*, p. 212.

[90] "Talk with the US Ambassador Arthur William Hummel, Jr. on the Eve of the Publication of the Sino-US Joint Communiqué," *ibid.*, p. 229.

[91] "Talk with US Secretary of State George Shultz," *ibid.*, p. 248.

[92] "Talk with Thomas O'Neill, Jr., Speaker of the United States House of Representatives," *ibid.,* p. 251.

[93] Deng Xiaoping (1993), p. 30.

an entirely new type of strategic thinking conceived in the process of China's reform and opening up and in its compliance with and promotion of the trend of world peace and development in order to safeguard national sovereignty and resolve the internal affairs of the country. It not only profoundly reflected the essence of Marxism (the spirit of seeking truth from facts), but embodied the ancient wisdom of Eastern civilization (the idea of having harmony while retaining differences). In terms of both the world, with its variety of civilizations and variety of systems, and in terms of China's handling of complex internal affairs, this was undoubtedly a brand new theoretical paradigm of contemporary human social and political civilization. In contrast, narrow, biased and conservative theories, such as the West-centered "failure theory," "End of History" and "Clash of Civilizations," based on a traditional ideology and social system provide no benefit to progressing human society.

In terms of China's sovereignty and independence, territorial integrity and integration of the Chinese nation, "peaceful reunification" and "one country, two systems" showed the great unity of the Chinese nation on the basis of patriotic consensus. The practice of "one country, two systems" in the return of Hong Kong and Macao to China demonstrated the high degree of autonomy of the Special Administrative Regions, where the people of Hong Kong administer Hong Kong and the people of Macao administer Macao. The main force implementing this type of autonomy was patriots. This is a "limit and standard." "What is a patriot? A patriot is one who respects the Chinese nation, sincerely supports the motherland's resumption of sovereignty over Hong Kong and wishes not to impair Hong Kong's prosperity and stability. Those who meet these requirements are patriots, whether they believe in capitalism or feudalism or even slavery. We don't demand that they be in favor of China's socialist system; we only ask them to love the motherland and Hong Kong."[94] All this is the cohesiveness and inclusiveness "peaceful reunification" and "one country, two systems" created for the identification and the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

### *5.3.4 Curbing Taiwan Independence and the Anti-Separation Law*

As mentioned above, the KMT's Lee Teng-hui era completed the "localization" process, and "Taiwan independence forces" took to the political stage as legitimate political parties. The rampant development of Taiwanese society and the breakup of the former Soviet Union and drastic changes in Eastern Europe after Lee Teng-hui's period in office were directly related, as it was the result of the US assessment of Chinese affairs while trying to realign its global strategy following the end of the Cold War. This judgment, which was based on the "break up of China" or "breaking

[94] Deng Xiaoping, "One Country, Two Systems," *ibid.,* p. 61.

up China," encouraged the Taiwan authorities to use the "separation model" to deal with Cross-Strait relations. Taiwan sought international space and to return to the United Nations, and pursued "checkbook diplomacy," which led to the talks between Wang Daohan and Koo Chen-fu at the start of 1993 being subject to serious interference by separatists and new challenges over the concepts of "one China" and "unification or separation." However, in 1992, Cross-Strait endeavors had already led to the 1992 Consensus, with both sides "adhering to the One-China principle," which ultimately laid the foundations for peaceful reunification.

In January 1995, regarding the situation faced in the great cause of Cross-Strait reunification, Jiang Zemin pointed out, "All Chinese should remain alert to the facts that separatist tendencies have increased and that Taiwan independence activities have become increasingly rampant on the island in recent years. Some foreign forces have further increased their meddling in the Taiwan question, interfering in China's internal affairs."[95] At the same time, he proposed eight points on the mainland's policy toward Taiwan, including that the mainland would have no objection to Taiwan developing nongovernmental economic and cultural relations with foreign countries; the mainland would firmly oppose separatist activities aimed at creating "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan;" Cross-Strait hostilities should be resolved through negotiations on peaceful reunification; Cross-Strait economic and cultural exchanges should be strengthened; direct mail, transport and trade links should be established across the Taiwan Strait; the legitimate rights of Taiwan compatriots on the mainland and abroad should be safeguarded; and Taiwan's political parties and people from all walks of life, including leaders of the Taiwan authorities would be welcome to visit the mainland. These proposals further enriched the CPC's basic principles and policy ideas on peaceful reunification. In particular, the proposal that, "Representatives of all parties and organizations on both sides of the Straits may participate in Cross-Straits negotiations based on peaceful reunification,"[96] was more in line with the reality of the Cross-Strait situation and fully reflected the room for negotiation between political parties and the people's will on both sides of the Strait.

On the issue of the rights Taiwan would enjoy after being reunified with the mainland, despite already having the political framework and legal practice of "one country, two systems" from Hong Kong's return to the mainland, as far as the Taiwanese were concerned, there would be differences from Hong Kong: "Taiwan will enjoy a high degree of autonomy, including administrative jurisdiction over Taiwan, legislative power, independent judicial power and the power of final adjudication. Taiwan may maintain its own army, and the mainland will not station troops or government administrators there. Taiwan representatives will be able to hold leadership positions in the central government and participate in the management of national affairs. In short, Taiwan will have a higher degree of autonomy than Hong Kong and Macao."[97] The key was US interference and influ-

[95] Jiang Zemin (2006a), p. 420.

[96] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

[97] Jiang Zemin (2006b), p. 153.

ence in Taiwanese affairs, which actually connived, encouraged and supported "Taiwan independence forces" and manufactured the continuing Taiwan Strait crisis in order to slow down, interfere in and undermine Cross-Strait peace talks. In 1999, Lee Teng-hui's "two states theory" created a major crisis in Cross-Strait relations. Moreover, the strong reaction his pro-Taiwan independence line and his desperate "two states theory" engendered across the Taiwan Strait and in international public opinion had a negative impact on the ruling position of the KMT. The subsequent "regime change" in Taiwan gave Chen Shui-bian, who adopted the strategy of hiding his true colors, and his proposal to distance himself from Taiwan independence the competitive advantage in the island's race for state power.

The Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) is a Taiwan independence party. Chen Shui-bian was an active participant in the early period of the opposition movement and a rising "political star" following the establishment of the DPP, as well as a promoter of a series of programs and policies on Taiwan independence. In the words of the leaders of the DPP's New Tide faction, the so-called line of distancing himself from Taiwan independence was not the same as opposing Taiwan independence. Rather he advocated avoiding Taiwan independence from becoming a public policy. This involved emphasizing democracy and avoiding discussions of Taiwan independence as part of efforts to pander to the mainstream values of society at that time in order to win more votes. "For the vast majority of the time between the founding of the DPP and 2002, Chen Shui-bian was one of the main leaders of this line."[98] The Taiwan independence storm created by Lee Teng-hui with his "two states theory" in 1999 and its impact on the KMT undoubtedly created the conditions for Chen Shui-bian to win over voters by distancing himself from Taiwan independence. During the Taiwan leadership election in 2000, Chen Shui-bian was nominated "presidential" candidate of the DPP and went on to be elected "president," which meant the DPP replaced the KMT as the ruling party. This regime change not only meant an end to 50 years of one-party rule in Taiwan by the KMT, but it meant "Taiwan independence forces" had legitimately taken the central position on Taiwan's political stage. After Chen Shui-bian took office, the core of his governing concept and policy practice was the promotion of Taiwan independence.

While in office, Chen Shui-bian introduced the Taiwan independence concepts of a "new middle way" and "one country on each side," and promoted "progressive Taiwan independence" and "de jure Taiwan independence" by mobilizing social forces over the issues of changing Taiwan's name, the subjectivity of Taiwan and a referendum. In practice, a series of policies on Taiwan's cultural independence created a cultural foundation of social consciousness for Taiwan independence. On the education side, efforts were made to create "localized" teaching materials to implement de-Sinicization. To this end, Chen Shui-bian expanded Lee Teng-hui's theory on "Taiwan's four major ethnic groups," which distinguishes the following ethnic groups: "Min-nan," the "Hakka," the "indigenous people" and "native inhabitants." The purpose of differentiating between these ethnic groups was to counter Chinese nationalist ideology under the authoritarian rule of the KMT, attempt to build a

[98] Lin Cho-shui (2006), p. 213.

political identity of Taiwanese nationalism while manufacturing political differences, and make ethnic nationalism, which comes within the scope of nationalism, become intertwined with populism because the boundaries of ethnicization are infinitely expanded. Causing the mutual infiltration of democratization and localization in Taiwan politics, the "emotional calls" of populist forces relied on "ethnic discourses" such as "ethnic background," "grassroots communities" and "historical imagination" to carry out the social mobilization of identity politics. Therefore, "ethnic politics" manipulated by "Taiwan independence forces" also clearly demonstrated the common logic of the "ethnic populist" movement, namely "vernacular mobilization, cultural politicization and communal purification,"[99] with the objective of building a "Taiwanese nation."

In order to build a Taiwanese nation different to the Chinese nation, Chen Shui-bian and the authorities used the historical resource of Taiwan's "indigenous people" to create Austronesian roots of the Taiwan nations in terms of bloodline, culture, language and various other aspects. The basic political philosophy and native nationalism of the World's Indigenous People movement was used to "construct a native nation so as to enjoy the right to national self-determination."[100] The claim of being "Austronesian people" thus became the prop for the "pan-nationalist" movement of Taiwan's indigenous people. Through establishing a "new partnership between indigenous people and the Taiwan government" and other ceremonial activities,[101] Chen Shui-bian's so-called "Southern Advance" policy served the "unification-independence issue" by playing up the "Austronesian" identity of indigenous people. To use the local resource of indigenous people, some Taiwan independence researchers attempted to prove that, in terms of origins, bloodlines, race and ethnicity, Taiwan's Han Chinese "native inhabitants" were no longer Han Chinese due to generations of interbreeding with indigenous people, and should even be considered indigenous people. Through illusory imagination the DPP and other "Taiwan independence forces" constructed a "glorious history" and depicted a "happy future" for Taiwan's indigenous people, but in reality this "local resource" was being used as a stepping stone to Taiwan independence. "Pan-Austronesian nationalism" is the product of "Taiwan independence forces" using aboriginal issues to seek "international space," and it is an attempt to alienate the Taiwan independence actions of the northern mainland by coercing indigenous people to look to other Austronesian peoples. It is a means of differentiating so-called "ocean culture" from Chinese "mainland culture" as part of the theory of "Taiwan's cultural

[99] Cf. Smith (1995), pp. 68, 71.

[100] Wang Ming-huey, "Space for the Nationalism of Taiwan's Indigenous People: From a Social Movement to National Development," Regional Research Center, Department of Geography, National Taiwan Normal University, Taipei, at http://www.geo.ntnu.edu.tw/geoweb/perildical/ntnu/rshrpt/no31.

[101] "New Partnership," *Chinese Times*, Taiwan, October 20, 2002, at http://ntw.com.tw/1004/103.htm.

independence." This is the reason that Chen Shui-bian has claimed that he is not Chinese.[102]

Between 1990, when Lee Teng-hui was in power, and 2000, when the DPP came to power and held power for eight consecutive years, significant changes occurred in Taiwan's political environment. The theory and practice of Taiwan independence had a profound impact on the Taiwanese people. Poles on questions of Chinese and Taiwanese identity have showed that people identified much less with being Chinese and much more with being Taiwanese. Although dual identity as Chinese and Taiwanese was generally stable, this was also subject to fluctuations in opinion. The division of Taiwanese society into "blue" and "green" camps and ethnic consciousness present a challenge to Chinese national identity. In this period of struggle against Taiwan independence, the formulation of the Anti-Separation Law was a major initiative of the mainland for safeguarding reunification of the motherland and opposing division of the country.

On March 14, 2005, the Anti-Separation Law was adopted at the Third Session of the 10th NPC. The law states, "This Law is formulated, in accordance with the Constitution, for the purpose of opposing and checking Taiwan's separation from China by separatists in the name of Taiwan independence, promoting peaceful national reunification, maintaining peace and stability in the Taiwan Straits, preserving China's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and safeguarding the fundamental interests of the Chinese nation." This was a legal response to the separationist wave set off by Chen Shui-bian's political and cultural Taiwan independence as well as his "referendum" and "de jure Taiwan independence" after coming to power. The Anti-Separation Law created legal norms on a series of major principles and issues, including the "One-China" principle, internal issues of Taiwan affairs, peaceful reunification and "one country, two systems," maintaining Cross-Strait peace and stability, developing Cross-Strait relations, and achieving Cross-Straits consultations and negotiations on an equal footing. It stipulated that, "In the event that the Taiwan independence separationist forces should act under any name or by any means to cause the fact of Taiwan's separation from China, or that major incidents entailing Taiwan's separation from China should occur, or that possibilities for a peaceful reunification should be completely exhausted, the state shall employ non-peaceful means and other necessary measures to protect China's sovereignty and territorial integrity." This law has had a far-reaching historical impact and played a significant practical role in promoting the development of Cross-Strait relations, advancing the peaceful reunification of the motherland, opposing and containing the attempts of "Taiwan independence forces" from splitting the country, maintaining peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait region and even maintaining peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region, safeguarding national sovereignty and territorial integrity, and safeguarding the fundamental interests of the Chinese nation.

[102] Cf. Sun Yun (2007), p. 183.

### 5.3.5 *Consolidating Border Defenses*

During the peaceful liberation of Xinjiang, the Central People's Government charged the liberating army in Xinjiang with the task of developing production. "Xinjiang has a vast territory and sparse population, and it will not be possible to provide supplies to the large contingent of forces there, consisting of the PLA, insurrectionary army and National Army, as well as militia and self-defense forces in the short-term. If production is not encouraged, they will not survive, not to mention be able to maintain order. This is very clear. I hope you take the lead in efforts to this end, and your exemplary role, like the historical site of Nanniwan, achieves even greater success."[103] At the time, Xinjiang's economy was not simply lagging behind. After Sheng Shicai turned anti-Soviet, "Five years of no trade with the Soviet Union meant the production of fur, cotton and silk had declined by half, according to estimates. Located so far away, trade with the mainland was not possible, which meant there was a particular shortage of daily necessities and severe economic depression that affected people's lives…. This not only had an impact on the troops in Xinjiang; it also had a serious impact on nationality issues in Xinjiang, the unity of national armed forces and the reform of the troops under Tao Shuqing."[104]

At the same time, Xinjiang had experienced countless war. In addition to the influence of extremist ethnic and religious ideas, the region was influenced by Tsarist Russia, Britain, the US and the Soviet Union, as well as the numerous nationalities in Xinjiang. After peaceful liberation, "The task of dissolving all secret services and reactionary organizations, rooting out spies, bandits and undercover British and American imperialist saboteurs, and guarding against and suppressing plots and destructive activities of reactionaries is extremely onerous."[105] Therefore, the policies adopted by the CPC Central Committee to develop the economy, wipe out gangs and implement democratic reform and land reforms in Xinjiang also embodied the characteristic of taking local conditions as the starting point, including "the principle of leniency toward minority nationalities when suppressing counterrevolutionaries."[106]

At the end of 1949 there were more than 240,000 troops stationed in Xinjiang as well as the local National Army, KMT insurgents and local administrative personnel, but Xinjiang's financial capacity was only able to provide for 30 % of them.[107] Under the policy guidance of encouraging troops to solve the problem of economic production, by the end of 1952, 40,000 troops stationed in Xinjiang had become agricultural producers, 30,000 were engaged in building water conservancy projects, 10,000 were working in the transport sector and 7,000 were involved in

[103] Zhu De (2010), p. 25.

[104] Peng Dehuai, "Telegraph to Mao Zedong on the Work in Xinjiang," *ibid.*, p. 39.

[105] "Current Policies of the Xinjiang Provincial People's Government," *ibid.*, p. 45.

[106] Liu Shaoqi, "Telegraph to Wang Zhen and Xi Zhongxun on Keeping Unchanged the Land of Temples and Monasteries and Other Questions in the Land Reform," *ibid.*, p. 85.

[107] Cf. Peng Dehuai, "Telegraph to Mao Zedong on the Work in Xinjiang," *ibid.*, p. 39.

livestock farming, which played an important role in increasing Xinjiang's economic production capacity, meeting market demand and stabilizing prices. "During the KMT era there was 866,000 hectares of arable land, which now stands at 1.2 million hectares…. In the past three head of sheep was worth one brick of tea, but today one head of sheep is worth two bricks of tea."[108] The effectiveness of this policy was clear to see. As such, in 1954, while reorganizing the Xinjiang Military Region, the separation of defense forces and production forces of leading organizations was proposed, and the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps made up of members of the PLA, National Army and insurrectionary army was established.[109] At the same time, the Production and Construction Corps was required to "strengthen assistance to farmers of all nationalities to launch a movement to increase agriculture production centered on mutual assistance and cooperation," and strive to achieve the goal of building regularized state farms as soon as possible.[110] The establishment of the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps and the support it provided to local economic and social development meant "The PLA troops that are stationed and have settled in Xinjiang are a guarantee of obtaining liberation for the people of all nationalities in the Xinjiang region," and provided the CPC with basic experience in solving nationality issues in Xinjiang. In 1958, the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps had grown to over 270,000 people: "It is not only a major force for consolidating law and order and national defense in the Xinjiang region, it is also becoming the main force in developing agriculture and industry in Xinjiang. The experience of setting up the Production and Construction Corps (that is, troops developing land for cultivation) in Xinjiang has been a success."[111]

The development of state farms and the development of agriculture, livestock farming, and industry by the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps played an important role in the economic and social progress of Xinjiang. At the same time, the Production and Construction Corps was an important force for consolidating national defense and maintaining border security. This was especially true after the 1962 exodus from Xinjiang of 60,000 Uygurs living along the border instigated by the Soviet Union, when the Production and Construction Corps' efforts to develop and protect the border reached a new level. On the one hand, in view of the grim situation of famine in the hinterland and the need to enrich border areas, demobilized military cadres and soldiers and young intellectuals bolstered the Production and Construction Corps. During this process, the CPC Central Committee attached

[108] "Guidelines of the Central Financial and Economic Committee on Xinjiang's Financial and Economic Problems," *ibid.*, p. 91.

[109] "Application of the Xinjiang Military Area for Establishing the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps," *ibid.*, p. 117.

[110] "Comments of the CPC Central Committee on the Decision of the CPC Xinjiang Sub-Bureau and the Party Committee of the Xinjiang Military Area on the Need for Agricultural Production and Construction Troops in Xinjiang to Give Greater Support to the Efforts of Farmers of All Nationalities to Increase Agricultural Production Centered on Mutual Assistance and Cooperation," *ibid.*, p. 127.

[111] Zhu De, "Developing Production and Strengthening National Unity in Xinjiang," *ibid.*, pp. 208, 210.

great importance to the unity of all nationalities in Xinjiang. Mao Zedong pointed out, "We need to make proper arrangements for Han workers arriving in Xinjiang. We need to settle relations between Han workers and workers from minority nationalities in Xinjiang. Because of ethnic, language and lifestyle differences, we need to educate Han workers on nationality policy, teach Han workers to respect the customs of minority nationalities and mobilize Han workers to study the languages of minority nationalities in order to have good relations and unity with workers from minority nationalities. We need to help resolve marriage and other difficulties of Han workers who have gone to Xinjiang."[112] Great determination, deep import and careful attention are considered classic discourses of the CPC resolving nationality issues. On the other hand, the Production and Construction Corps' role of defending China's border was strengthened. As Zhou Enlai pointed out, "The Production and Construction Corps is a production team, a work team and a fighting force. In the past, less attention was paid to the fighting aspect, but since 1962 close attention has been paid to it."[113] In other words, "close attention was paid to defending the country and guarding the frontiers." Xinjiang is both the motherland's rear and its front line. "Economically, in terms of making military preparations… the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps must organize the militia division. This is equal to the regular army. You must manage each area of land in the northern border region."[114]

During the Cultural Revolution, as part of the campaign encouraging young intellectuals to go to mountainous areas and the countryside in response to Mao Zedong's call, Production and Constructions Corps were established in Guangxi, Yunnan, Heilongjiang, Inner Mongolia and Tibet. In 1974 and 1975, these corps were established and disbanded, and in 1975 the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps also disbanded, and the Land Reclamation Bureau was established. In 1981, Wang Zhen proposed reestablishing the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps and stated to Deng Xiaoping, "The Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps is the current agricultural reclamation force and the core of stability in Xinjiang. The Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps should be restored."[115] This was directly related to the Central Committee's judgment on the international situation and internal problems facing the Xinjiang region at the time. Externally, "The Soviet Union had stationed large numbers of troops along its border with Xinjiang, threatening China with force, and was carrying out a variety of subversive and destructive activities. In Xinjiang, a small number of counter-revolutionaries and other reactionary elements among Han workers and minority nationalities were colluding with Soviet hegemonists and foreign hostile forces, and carrying out evil acts to undermine national unity and split the motherland."[116]

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[112] Mao Zedong, "Xinjiang Must Do Its Economic Work Well and Strengthening National Unity," *ibid.*, p. 228.

[113] Zhou Enlai, "Strive to Build a New Revolutionary Xinjiang," *ibid.*, p. 230.

[114] Deng Xiaoping, "Prospects for Xinjiang Are Bright," *ibid.*, p. 238.

[115] Deng Xiaoping, "In Xinjiang, Stability Is of Overriding Importance and Selecting Cadres Is Crucial," *ibid.,* p. 253.

[116] "Minutes of a Meeting of the Secretariat of CPC on Work in Xinjiang," *ibid.,* p. 251.

Against this background, on December 3, 1981, the CPC Central Committee, State Council and Central Military Commission decided to reestablish the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps, stressing that, "The Production and Construction Corps' development and protection of border areas and agricultural reclamation work, is of great significance to the economic and cultural development of all nationalities in autonomous regions, defending against hegemonic aggression and guarding the motherland's borders."[117]

### *5.3.6 The Shanghai Cooperation Organization and Fighting against Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism*

With the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations, the 20-year threat of war caused by the Soviet Union deployment of a million along the Chinese border no longer existed. However, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the reorganization of Central Asian countries reignited the influence of pan-Islamism, pan-Turkism and extreme nationalism in the region. From a historical perspective, it was inevitable that this influence would spread to China's Xinjiang. Following the peaceful liberation of Xinjiang, the task of clearing the region of gangs was extremely arduous, which included riotous activities incited and organized by religious leaders. These activities clearly revealed the extremist hue of pan-Islamism and pan-Turkism, and displayed their anti-CPC orientation. The majority of their activities were characterized by attacks on local governments and other public departments as well as attempts to snatch weapons. After relations deteriorated with the Soviet Union in the 1960s, these types of activities, including the establishment of the East Turkestan People's Revolutionary Party and similar underground activities, became more political, and organizations were developed an armed insurrections planned using printed materials and other forms of propaganda supporting ethnic separatism. In 1970, the East Turkestan People's Revolutionary Party was uncovered and more than 5,000 people were arrested, including 1,165 people who were confirmed as members.[118] In the 1980s, these types of activities became more common. Because several times accidents sparked off mass violent riots, amid this street violence which accompanied attacks on government agencies and damaging of property appeared ethnic and religious elements that advocated the Islamic "spirit" and expelling the Han population. Between 1985 and 1989, three such incidents of mass rioting and damaging property occurred in the regional capital Urumqi. These incidents were linked to the external environment of an outbreak of friction between nationalities in the Soviet Union and the domestic factor of the widening economic and social development gap between China's eastern and western regions. However, the influence of Islamic extremism from abroad, including the revision, republication and spread in Xinjiang

[117] "Decision of the CPC Central Committee, the State Council and the Central Military Commission on Reinstating the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps," *ibid.,* p. 255.

[118] Cf. Li Sheng (ed.), *China's Xinjiang: Past and Present*, p. 348.

of the "East Turkestan classic" *History of East Turkestan* and other foreign books, served to reignite interest in an independent East Turkestan.

In the 1990s, the separatist activities of underground organizations, parties and gangs in Xinjiang became more numerous and violent. The violence in Baren Township, Akto County planned and organized by the East Turkistan Islamic Party was seen as the start of "East Turkestan" forces move toward terrorism. Between 1990 and 1995, 26 violent terrorist activities took occurred, and public security organs broke up 109 separatist organizations and groups involving thousands of people, seizing large quantities of firearms, ammunition, grenades and explosives in the process. This was during the reorganization transition period for former-Soviet countries in Central Asia, when economic problems, social unrest and ethnic tensions were increasing. In the course of competition between Turkey and Iran to make Central Asia Islamic again, a mix of extremist Islamic fundamentalist ideas and pan-Turkism arose, and a variety of extremist organizations, including political parties, civil organizations and even an "Islamic Army" were established, which led to frequent bombings, attacks and riots occurring as well as group criminal activities increasing year on year.[119] Added to this, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Central Asian countries of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan became increasingly anti-Soviet, anti-communist and anti-socialist. The influence of these events on Xinjiang was obvious. Among Islamic believers, achieving integration is not easy, but they find it easy to act in cooperation and influence each other. Many of the East Turkistan organizations that appeared in Xinjiang also contained elements from criminal gangs. These groups were dissatisfied with society, and were therefore most susceptible to extremist religious forces, ethnic separatist forces and terrorist forces. These three forces were particularly active in areas bordering Xinjiang, which meant, "The Baren Township incident was inseparable from the international and domestic climate."[120] Therefore, maintaining social stability in Xinjiang required the creation of a favorable international environment. The establishment of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization reflected this urgent requirement.

In 1996, in order to strengthen friendly neighborly relations and mutual trust, leaders from China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan met first in Shanghai and then in Moscow and signed the Treaty on Deepening Military Trust in Border Regions and Treaty on Reduction of Military Forces in Border Regions. Later, the heads of state of the five countries have met every year, with meetings held at alternating venues. The content of the meetings has expanded from deepening trust on border issues to discussing mutually beneficial cooperation in areas including politics, security, trade and culture. This has included a joint response to the increasingly rampant international terrorism, ethnic separatism and religious extremism, which have had a serious impact on regional security. Because its first meeting was held in Shanghai, the cooperation mechanism was named the Shanghai Cooperation Organization.

[119] Cf. Zhao Changqing (1999), p. 214.

[120] Jiang Zemin (2010), p. 319.

In 1999, when the heads of states of the five countries met in Bishkek, Jiang Zemin raised the issue of strengthening regional security cooperation and emphasized the need to "continue fighting religious extremist forces, ethnic separatist forces and international terrorist activities as well as other cross-border criminal activities that threaten the security and stability of the region. The relevant departments of our five countries should gradually establish an effective cooperation mechanism." At a meeting of the five heads of state in the Tajik city of Dushanbe in 2000, Jiang Zemin again proposed deepening security cooperation: "Our five countries must take joint action to combat the activities of the region's various separatist, terrorist and extremist forces, and quickly establish a sound legal basis and specific coordination mechanism in order to strengthen mutual support for maintaining national unity and sovereignty and resisting all kinds of threats to the security of the region.[121] On June 14, 2001, leaders of the Shanghai Five and the President of Uzbekistan met in Shanghai and signed a joint declaration allowing Uzbekistan to join the organization. The six heads of state jointly issued the Declaration on the Establishment of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, and signed the Shanghai Convention on Combating Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism. On the basis of a definition of terrorism, separatism and extremism, the Convention detailed the responsibilities and obligations of signatory countries as well as the content, measures and safeguards of mutual cooperation. On October 27, 2001, the 24th Session of the Ninth Standing Committee of the National People's Congress ratified the Convention.

Before the 9/11 incident that shocked the world occurred, China and the other SCO member states had already signed the *Shanghai Convention on Combating Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism*. This was done with foresight, but rather a necessity due to the harm wrought by the "three evil forces." As far as China was concerned, "'East Turkistan' separatist forces are a real terrorist force. 'East Turkistan' terrorist forces have carried out bloody terrorist activities not only in China, but some other countries as well. Combating this evil force is an integral part of the international fight against terrorism, and is in line with the common interests of all regions and countries."[122] According to incomplete statistics, between 1990 and 2001, "East Turkistan" forces carried out more than 200 acts of terrorist violence in Xinjiang, killing 162 and injuring 440 people from various ethnic groups, grassroots cadres and religious figures. These violent terrorist acts involved bombings, assassinations, surprise attacks, poisonings, arson attacks, setting up training bases, manufacturing weapons and ammunition, and planning and organizing riots. These East Turkistan terrorists included mercenaries who were trained by Al-Qaeda, members of the Taliban, and had acted as terrorist armed forces in Chechnya and Central Asia.[123] Therefore, since 2001, the focus of the SCO's security cooperation

[121] Jiang Zemin, "Strengthening Regional Cooperation and Safeguarding Regional Peace and Security," *ibid.,* pp. 445, 446.

[122] *Ibid.,* p. 450.

[123] Cf. the State Council Information Office, "It Is the East Turkistan Terrorists to Blame," *ibid.,* pp. 729–738.

has been to combat the "three evil forces," including threats in areas not related to national security, including drug trafficking, transnational crime and illegal immigration. The joint military exercises conducted annually by the SCO are also aimed at fighting terrorism. Constant progress has been made in establishing a terrorist database and information exchange mechanism, and a permanent regional anti-terrorism agency has been set up. This mechanism has provided a guarantee for regional economic cooperation between SCO member states. Of course, "While looking at the positive situation, it is also necessary to face up to the problems and challenges that exist."[124]

Amid the international anti-terrorism situation, "East Turkistan" forces have been constantly adjusting organizations and initiatives for implementing ethnic separatism. In 2004, "East Turkistan" forces organized a World Uyghur Congress in Munich, and in 2006 chose a so-called "leader", Rebiya Kadeer, who has mimicked the international tactics of the Dalai Lama and his forces to manipulate public opinion among the international community by swearing black is white. She has also sought support from the United States and other Western forces by using "street politics," the Internet and printed materials to spread information about the "glorious history" of and the "real tragedy" of "East Turkistan" and sensationalize topics such as human rights, culture and ecology. At the same time, incidents continue to be provoked and incited in Xinjiang through permeation and infiltration, leading to terrorist activities. The violent incidents in Urumqi on July 5, 2009, occurred under the influence and instigation of "East Turkistan" forces. Hu Jintao pointed out, "A number of facts show that ethnic separatist forces and their activities is a major danger affecting social stability in Xinjiang. The separatist and anti-separatist struggle taking place in the Xinjiang region is long-term, complex and penetrating, and at times it is even extremely intense. We must prepare well, both mentally and in our work, for a long-term struggle."[125]

## 5.4 China's Long and Arduous Fight Against Separatistism

At a meeting commemorating the 90th anniversary of the CPC, Hu Jintao stated, "China's basic condition has not changed, that is, it is still in the primary stage of socialism and will remain so for a long time to come, and the principal issue in society is still how to meet the ever-growing material and cultural needs of the people while upgrading backward social production. And China's international status as the largest developing country in the world has not changed. Development is

[124] Jiang Zemin, "Correctly Understanding the History of Xinjiang and Resolutely Opposing National Separation," *ibid.,* p. 471.

[125] Hu Jintao, "Thoroughly Implement the Scientific Outlook on Development and Strive to Promote Significant Development and Lasting Stability in Xinjiang," *ibid.,* p. 707.

still the key to solving all the problems in China."[126] This also includes solving nationality issues, including effectively safeguarding national unity and firmly opposing ethnic separatism.

### *5.4.1 Continuing to Strike a Balance between Development and Stability*

An important historical basis of China's nationality issues has been unbalanced economic and social development levels between nationalities, particularly the significant economic and social development gap between minority nationalities and the areas they inhabit and the Han nationality and China's hinterland. Because of this, helping and supporting economic development and social progress among minority nationalities and in the areas they inhabit has always been a major policy of the CPC. In this regard, the Party's older generation of proletarian revolutionaries, the three generations of the Party's central collective leadership and the CPC Central Committee with Hu Jintao as General Secretary since the 16th CPC National Congress not only carried out in-depth theoretical explanations, but formulated a series of development strategies and policies to constantly promote and accelerate economic and social development among minority nationalities and in the areas they inhabit. Especially since the implementation of the strategy for the large-scale development of the western region, the Party and state have introduced a series of major policies conducive to accelerating economic and social development in China's western region and minority nationality areas, examples of which have been noted above.

Economic and social development is the material basis for achieving national equality and social harmony. As far as China is concerned, "poverty is not socialism," just as uneven economic development and unequal social rights is not socialism. The common development and prosperity of all nationalities and regions, and all nationalities and regions sharing in the fruits of reform and opening up, is an essential requirement of socialism with Chinese characteristics. As such, development is of overriding importance and our top priority. At the same time, development requires a stable social environment. "Without a stable situation, nothing is possible. Maintaining stability and developing the economy is a dialectical unity. Without the political prerequisites for stability, it will be impossible to boost the economy; if we are unable to boost the economy, it will ultimately be impossible to maintain stability. We say that stability is the overriding goal. That is its significance."[127] The political prerequisites for stability in minority nationality areas are upholding and improving the system of regional national autonomy, earnestly

[126] Hu Jintao, "Speech at a Meeting Commemorating the 90th Anniversary of the Founding of the Communist Party of China" at http://news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2011-07/01/. This reference will not be cited again in further quotations from it.

[127] Jiang Zemin (2010), p. 319.

implementing all Party and state nationality policies, and consolidating and safeguarding the great unity of all nationalities. At the same time, if the economy does not develop, autonomy shall be meaningless. This is an inseparably interconnected relationship and a complimentary mechanism.

Effectively implementing the system of nationality policies centered on the system of regional autonomy is a prerequisite for creating and strengthening political stability, and accelerating economic and social development is a condition for achieving and maintaining social stability. Development requires the guarantee of stability, and stability requires the support of development. This is a parallel process. In the course of reform and opening up, the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics has constantly undergone self-improvement, including the self-improvement of not only the fundamental political system of people's congresses, but also the self-improvement of basic political systems of multiparty cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the CPC, regional autonomy and primary-level self-governance, even the self-improvement of the system of socialist laws with Chinese characteristics and the basic economic system whereby public ownership is dominant and economic entities under diverse ownership forms develop side by side, and the self-improvement of various specific systems including economic, political, cultural and social systems established on the foundations of basic political and economic systems. Improvement is development, and improvement of the superstructure is achieved by relying on the material base of economic and social development. Improvements to these systems also guarantee that the economy and society's material base will be consolidated and strengthened.

Development is not simply about accumulating wealth, but the development of the people and the upgrading of the ability of regions, nationalities and the people to achieve self-development. If the prosperous façade of development is not closely linked to the greater development of the people, of nationalities and of regions, then it will be impossible to avoid having poverty between skyscrapers and impossible to eliminate marginalization on bustling city streets. It is not possible to help the people's development indicators, signs, symbols and "achievements;" nor is it possible to identify and safeguard them for the people. Development implies this transformation, but transformation includes accomplishments as well as deterioration (environmental costs, widening regional economic disparity, unequal distribution of income, prominent social conflicts, etc.). The result of deterioration is that it will not only cause dissatisfaction among the masses, including ethnic minorities, but is also bound to be exploited by hostile foreign forces. Therefore, with development and stability, the questions of how to develop and how to maintain stability always exist.

In the 1960s, in the process of promoting economic and social development in the Xinjiang region, Liu Shaoqi pointed out, "We need to protect the grasslands. Should the grasslands be developed for agriculture? Any cultivation that helps develop the livestock industry should be undertaken; any that impedes the development of the livestock industry should not. Protecting the grasslands is an important issue. When the US developed its grasslands it made mistakes which led to sandstorms, with the result that they were forced to resow them with grass. The Soviet Union also made this mistake. We must not repeat this mistake. Therefore, we need

to protect the grasslands and not overdevelop it."[128] This undoubtedly has important implications for the scientific and rational use of grasslands, implementing ecological protection and constructing projects in grassland areas today. Restoring reclaimed land to forests, returning grazing land to grassland, conserving water, protecting species and ecomigration are all important measures in the practice of developing ecological awareness, and they have achieved remarkable results. However, in some regions, the urgent desire for economic and social development, mixed with local requirements and personal "achievements" for the pursuit of fiscal and economic indicators, have not only led to a series of problems and conflicts over agricultural land mainly in Han areas, but issues related to the environment and herders' interests caused by disorderly mining practices. The "mining-herding" conflict that occurred in West Ujimqin Banner in Xilin Gol, Inner Mongolia in May 2011 is a classic case in recent years. The petitions and protests that started locally during this incident quickly spread to the cities and as far as the capital of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, Hohhot, causing social instability. Of course, not only that, the incident was picked up by the so-called Southern Mongolia Movement and its forces abroad, who launched "street politics" activities to manufacture public opinion in an attempt to aggravate the situation, which triggered incidents similar to those in Tibet on March 14, 2008, and those in Urumqi on July 5, 2009.

In fact, this was not simply a nationality problem. This type of incident, which was triggered by land and environmental issues, had been very common in China's development process in recent years. Even the residents of Nanjing took to the streets to protect the plane trees lining either side of the streets. This is also related to the question of how to develop. As Hu Jintao pointed out, "Only development counts, and this calls for pursuing sound development. We should take sound development as the goal and give priority to accelerating the shift of model of economic development. We also need to place more emphasis on the following efforts: putting people first; promoting comprehensive, coordinated, and sustainable development; taking all factors into consideration when making overall plans; carrying out reform and opening up; and ensuring and improving the people's wellbeing. We will accelerate strategic adjustment of the economic structure, scientific and technological progress and innovation, and the building of a resource-conserving and environmentally friendly society. We will promote fairness and justice; long-term, steady and rapid economic development; and social harmony and stability. We will continue to make new and greater achievements in pursuing civilized development that leads to increased production, better lives for the people, and a sound ecosystem, and thus lay a more solid foundation for building a moderately prosperous society in all respects and realizing the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation." This is the answer to the question of how we should develop. Development that takes sound development as the goal and gives priority to accelerating the shift in the model of economic development is the fundamental guarantee for safeguarding political and social stability.

[128] Liu Shaoqi, "Xinjiang's Animal Husbandry, Agriculture and Industry and Other Issues," *ibid.,* p. 235.

The theory and practice of solving nationality issues in China is a "hot topic" of widespread concern among the international community. Although this is largely the result of the Dalai Lama and his forces and "East Turkistan" forces constantly manipulating public opinion, it is an open secret that Western anti-China forces have, for a long time, used other countries' nationality and religious problems to Westernize and split them. These forces are very clear about the popular support economic and social development can generate, so using problems that exist and appear in China to manipulate public opinion, stir up trouble and undermine China's development environment has become their inevitable choice. In China over the next 10 years, in the course of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, the rapid and leap-frog development of minority nationality areas also means that problems during development will become more focused and concentrated. If these problems are not dealt with properly, with the incitement and instigation of hostile forces, it is not inconceivable that a serious situation could re-emerge. Therefore, the task of guaranteeing development and maintaining stability will also get harder.

As Hu Jintao stated, "Development is critically important, and upholding stability is also a critically important task. Without stability, nothing could be done, and even the achievements already made could be lost. This is a lesson that all the comrades in the Party should keep in mind, and we should make all the people keep this lesson in mind." Stability is not a slogan. Stability overrides everything is established on the basis of constantly solving problems and eliminating various factors that affect stability. Doing nothing in the area of reform and opening up, delaying resolving problems or adopting repressive measures in order to maintain stability will not work. Development will inevitably bring with it a series of problems, and stability will only be maintained by promptly and rationally solving these problems during the dynamic process of development. As Hu Jintao pointed out, "The movement of social conflicts is the basic force driving social development. We should follow the law governing social development, face problems squarely, and properly handle conflicts among the people and other social conflicts. We should reduce and defuse these conflicts by building the material basis, enhancing moral strength, improving policies and measures, and providing a stronger institutional guarantee. We should energize society to the greatest possible extent, maximize factors of harmony and minimize factors that undermine harmony." This is the essence of achieving stability and guaranteeing development.

To solve the various problems faced in the course of development, it is necessary to "establish sound decision-making mechanisms for deepening understanding of the people, fully reflecting public opinion, pooling people's wisdom and valuing the people's strengths, and ensuring that decision making conforms to the interests and aspirations of the people," established on the basic requirements of the scientific concept of development, to be able to seek benefits and avoid disadvantages and to reduce the ability of foreign hostile forces to use deficiencies in China's attempts to solve domestic problems to maliciously sensationalize events and fan the flames of discontent, because this factor has already become one of the most important factors affecting China's political and social stability and its international image. "Faced

with an ever-changing international situation and the arduous task of domestic reform, development and stability," China must practice development using the Scientific Outlook on Development and solve its domestic problems, including ethnic affairs, based on the realities of its national conditions. If diplomacy can be said to be an extension of internal affairs, then good internal affairs can provide strong support to diplomacy to eliminate a variety of factors not conducive to China's development and stability, and eliminate a variety of separatist forces exiled abroad and forces seeking the overthrow of the political regime in China that rely on Chinese problems, the "Tibet issue" and the East Turkistan issue to survive.

### *5.4.2 Upholding and Improving the System of Regional National Autonomy*

Hu Jintao has stated, "For our Party to unite with and lead the people in forging ahead, make new progress in its work and win new victories for its cause, it must hold high the great banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics, keep to and expand the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics, uphold and enrich the system of theories of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and adhere to and improve the socialist system with Chinese characteristics." As a basic national political system, the system of regional national autonomy founded by the CPC is part of the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Upholding and improving the system of regional national autonomy is the same as upholding and improving the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

In 2005, Hu Jintao pointed out, "The system of regional national autonomy is one of China's basic political systems, an important element for developing socialism and building socialist political awareness, and an important guarantee for the Party to unite and lead the people of all China's nationalities in building socialism with Chinese characteristics and achieving the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. Implementing regional national autonomy under the unified leadership of the state reflected the state's respect for and guarantee of the right of minority nationalities to self-manage their internal affairs. It reflected the principles of national equality, national unity and common prosperity and development of all nationalities. Finally, it reflected the unity of ethnic and regional factors, political factors and economic factors with historical factors. Practice has shown that this system is in line with China's national conditions and the fundamental interests of the people of all nationalities, and that it has strong vitality. Regional national autonomy is an unquestionable basic experience of the Party in resolving nationality issues, an unwavering basic political system of China, and an unshakable major political advantage of Chinese socialism."[129] Therefore, in terms of adapting China's nationality affairs to the new changes in the international and domestic situations

[129] Hu Jintao (2010), p. 81.

under the new historical conditions, improving the system of regional national autonomy is the new path and new practice for Chinese nationality affairs.

Nevertheless, in the course of practice, the system of regional national autonomy also faces challenges. In particular, following the March 14 Incident that occurred in Lhasa in 2008, doubts arose at home and abroad regarding the system of regional national autonomy. The Dalai Lama even suggested an alternative system: Memorandum on Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan People, which put forward plans for achieving his "middle way." This essence of this plan was to attempt to replace regional national autonomy with "national autonomy." Afterwards, the Dalai Lama stated that this is the "base line" of his political aspirations. And in 2009, he released an explanation of his Memorandum. Following the release of the Memorandum, various foreign forces that aid Tibet applied constant pressure on China, and even some politicians, scholars and ordinary people not in favor of Tibetan independence saw this as an opportunity to solve the "Tibet issue." However, knowing little about China's national conditions and institutional arrangements, combined with their ideological bias, meant these people had difficulty discerning the essence of the Memorandum. This type of public opinion meant the Memorandum gained the appearance of having the so-called moral high ground and the illusion of not being about independence.

While publicizing the Memorandum, the Dalai Lama clique repeatedly stressed that it accords with the principles of autonomy plans in the Law of the People's Republic of China and the Law of the People's Republic of China on Regional National Autonomy. "The essence of the Middle Way Approach is to secure genuine autonomy for the Tibetan people within the scope of the Constitution of the PRC. This is of mutual benefit and based on the long-term interest of both the Tibetan and Chinese peoples." In fact, whether it is called "genuine autonomy" or "true autonomy," the implication is that the existing system of regional national autonomy is not genuine. Its conception is itself a violation of the Chinese Constitution and the Law on Regional National Autonomy. To deny that autonomy under this system is genuine, is to question China's political system and therefore to challenge China's socialist system.

In terms of content, in essence this Memorandum is an attempt to create "national autonomy" whereby Tibetan people administer Tibet, which also violates the Constitution and Law on Regional National Autonomy, and is not "the form and standard of self-government that complies with the spirit of laws of the People's Republic of China on autonomy, as stated." In actual fact, changing the current system of regional national autonomy in Tibet is its clear requirement.

First of all, regarding the "Tibetan people" mentioned in the title, the Memorandum states, "Tibetans belong to one minority nationality regardless of the current administrative division. The integrity of the Tibetan nationality must be respected." However, the statement here that, "Tibetans belong to one minority nationality," is not consistent with facts. There is only one Tibetan nationality in China, and the problem of multiple Tibetan nationalities does not exist. Tibetans living in different areas, like Han and other minority nationalities that live in different areas, is the result of thousands of years of interaction between China's many nationalities.

Second, the "integrity of the Tibetan nationality" is not consistent with historical facts. The distribution, different areas of residence and even the different dialects of Tibetans have evolved over a lengthy process. Tibetans who today live in Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan and Yunnan are the result of migrations that began as far back as the Tubo Dynasty. The areas in which they live today were not historically uninhabited. The formation of Tibet's three main dialects is closely related to historical inter-ethnic relations, and the return of areas inhabited by Tibetans outside of the Tibet Autonomous Region to neighboring provinces and autonomous regions has undergone centuries of changes in administrative divisions since the Song and Yuan dynasties.

Third, based on the above absurd demand, the Memorandum proposes that Tibetans should "exercise similar" regional national autonomy rights. In China, the system of regional national autonomy is a system provided for in the Constitution and regulated by the Law on Regional National Autonomy. There are only differences in the levels of administrative divisions between autonomous areas of minority nationalities, and "dissimilar" autonomous rights do not exist in China's laws and regulations. The Tibet Autonomous Region and other Tibetan autonomous prefectures and counties are all entitled to the common rights stipulated by the Law on Regional National Autonomy.

The essence of the Dalai Lama's Memorandum on Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan People is to seek "a high degree of autonomy" for so-called "Greater Tibet." Although the Dalai Lama and the members of his exiled organization have repeatedly said that, "Tibet is Tibet; there is no greater or smaller Tibet," and that there is no "high degree of autonomy" or "low degree of autonomy," only "general autonomy." However, the Memorandum clearly refers to a "Greater Tibet" and the goal of attaining a "high degree of autonomy," which means they are, in fact, trying to create a so-called "Greater Tibet." This "Greater Tibet" is the product of the British-led conference held in Simla in 1913. The aim is to achieve "national autonomy" whereby "Tibetan people administer Tibet."

The "oneness" of Tibetans and the "unity" and "high degree" of autonomy mentioned in the Memorandum are all part of the goal of having "Tibetan people administer Tibet." Despite the fact the Memorandum does not use the words "Tibetan people administer Tibet," it clearly makes this point: "The Tibetan people's culture and identity can only be preserved and promoted by the Tibetans themselves and not by any others. Therefore, Tibetans should be capable of self-help, self-development and self-government, and an optimal balance needs to be found between this and necessary and welcome guidance and assistance for Tibet from the Central Government and other provinces and regions of the PRC." Therefore, the demand for "the entire community, comprising all the areas currently designated by the PRC as Tibetan autonomous areas, should be under one single administrative entity," is an attempt to seek the territorial basis for "Tibetan people to administer Tibet." At the same time, to achieve this objective, it is also necessary to reorganize local political power in Tibet. In other words, "Tibetans also want the right to create their own regional government and government institutions and processes that are best suited to their needs and characteristics." Whether this statement is intended to

negate the existing People's Congress of the Tibet Autonomous Region and the People's Government of the Tibet Autonomous Region, it is aimed at maintain rule using a theocratic system. As the Memorandum states, "We recognize the importance of separation of religion and government, but this should not affect the freedom and practice of believers." This sentence implies that Tibet's old theocratic system protected the "freedom and practice of believers." This point was, at the very least, the basic concept behind the Dalai Lama's Memorandum.

Needless to say, using "national autonomy" whereby the "Tibetan people administer Tibet" to interpret the Chinese Constitution and the Law on Regional National Autonomy will inevitably produce results that distort and deviate from legal principles. The Dalai Lama's carefully designed plan to "abandon independence" and practice a "high degree of autonomy" in "Greater Tibet" within the principles of the Chinese Constitution and Law on Regional National Autonomy actually contains a hidden political motive, which is to draw a comparison between the model of special administrative regions of Hong Kong and Macao, where Hong Kong people administer Hong Kong and the people of Macao administer Macao, both with a high degree of autonomy, and his designs for a "Greater Tibet" with a "high degree of autonomy." Of course, the aim of this type of comparison is not only to seek autonomous rights, but to establish the historical political status of Tibet as an "independent country" and its current political status as "a colony of China."

The colonial history of China's Hong Kong and Macao is well known, and there is no need for an explanation. In order to solve the "historical legacy" left to China by the colonial era, upon resuming sovereignty, China adopted the Special Administrative Region model, known as "one country, two systems." This was a new model incorporating traditional Chinese political wisdom. The Dalai Lama's Memorandum is an attempt to imitate the model applied to Hong Kong and Macao, with the following political aims: First, despite the Dalai Lama's claim to have "abandoned independence," his proviso is that pre-1950 Tibet is recognized as having been independent. Therefore, his only reason for supposedly abandoning independence is that, "By staying with China, Tibet can benefit in the area of economic development." Second is to distort Tibet's history as part of China to appear that it is a colony invaded and occupied by China. Third is to show that, under the established world trend of decolonization, Tibet, as a colony of China, is refraining from demanding independence, allowing it to occupy the moral high ground of a "weak nation" and appear magnanimous in the international community. Fourth, having achieved this aim, to set the scene for carrying out a referendum based on the "right of peoples to self-determination" under international law, under the conditions of a "Great Tibet" and "high degree of autonomy" for all Tibetans. Thus, the Memorandum simply advocates independence in disguise.[130]

As for whether the Dalai Lama's "political retirement" in the name of so-called "democratization" in 2011 will end the theocratic system of government, the international community still needs to "listen to his words and watch his deeds" because the Dalai Lama often issues statements that confuse the international community.

[130] Cf. Hao Shiyuan (2011), Theory Weekly.

Early Western colonizers viewed ancient peoples as "noble savages," and many of their descendants today have become "ignorant civilized people" dazed by the Dalai Lama, because they turn a blind eye to the Dalai Lama's theocratic regime which has endured into the twenty-first century and even regard the Dalai Lama as symbol of democracy, completely forgetting their abhorrence for theocratic rule during their own history. This is the very definition of double standards. This example of double standards reflects the "two-sidedness" of the Dalai Lama. In 2008, he stated that he "would like to become a citizen of the People's Republic of China," while releasing a Memorandum that runs counter to China's Constitution and Basic Law.

As mentioned earlier, upholding and improving the system of regional national autonomy has always been a major principle of the CPC, and improvement to the system have been taking place since reform and opening up. The Law of the People's Republic of China on Regional National Autonomy promulgated in 1984 was an important measure for improving this system. In 2001, in accordance with the country's new circumstances and development requirements, the NPC Standing Committee revised the Law on Regional National Autonomy to make it more in line with the needs of the socialist market economic system. In 2005, the State Council issued the Regulations of the State Council on Implementing the Law of the People's Republic of China on Regional National Autonomy, which further clarified the responsibilities of people's governments at higher levels in supporting and assisting national autonomous areas, set forth new requirements on fully implementing the Law on Regional National Autonomy, and created guiding principles for national autonomous areas to lawfully formulate autonomous and separate regulations that conform to the realities of their regions. By 2008, national autonomous areas at all levels across the country had formulated a total of 637 autonomous and separate regulations and modifications to relevant laws or supplementary regulations. These were all specific measures for improving the system of regional national autonomy, as well as solid steps taken on nationality affairs in the process of developing democracy and the rule of law and reforming the political system in China.

The aim of opening China to the outside world was to learn from and absorb the achievements of human society, not to adopt other countries' systems or development models. The success of China's reform and opening up has come from exploring a development path suited to China's national conditions. This is not only the most important lesson since reform and opening up, but the development idea that China will continue to follow in the future. Similarly, in the course of modernizing and developing China's western region, a development path different to that taken by the developed eastern region, which is based on the ecological and geographical environments, traditional work styles and lifestyles, languages, religions, customs and other social characteristics of minority nationalities, has been explored. The requirements of having a people-oriented, comprehensive, coordinated and sustainable scientific outlook on development and inclusive development established by China has provided new impetus to this practice and a new development environment for improving the system of regional national autonomy.

According to the provisions of the Law on Regional National Autonomy, in addition to having the powers of local organs of state power, local people's congresses

of ethnic autonomous areas have the power to enact regulations on the exercise of autonomy and separate regulations in the light of the political, economic and cultural characteristics of the nationality or nationalities in the areas concerned. This includes issuing regulations on the adaptive implementation of national laws and administrative regulations. This power takes the realities of national autonomous areas as its starting point and practices the core concept of implementing autonomy involving minority nationalities "independently administering national internal affairs" in accordance with local conditions. The legal formulation of this principle is enshrined in the Law on Regional National Autonomy: "Regional national autonomy embodies the state's full respect for and guarantee of the right of the minority nationalities to administer their internal affairs and its adherence to the principle of equality, unity and common prosperity for all its nationalities." As a mode of autonomy that integrates nationality factors and local factors, the former is "the state's full respect for and guarantee of the right of the minority nationalities to administer their internal affairs," and the latter is "adherence to regional national autonomy requires that the national autonomous areas be given effective guarantees for implementing state laws and policies in the light of existing local conditions." These two aspects are an interconnected and organic whole, and they are a combination of the implementation of dual powers whereby autonomous minority nationalities independently manage their own internal affairs and various nationalities from autonomous areas manage the affairs of their areas. The practice of these dual powers is achieved through autonomous local people's congresses. Therefore, if the NPC is the instrument for the people of all China's nationalities to co-manage state affairs, then the regional national autonomy model includes both the "autonomy" of minority nationalities as well as "shared governance" by all nationalities of that region, because between the "internal affairs" of minority nationalities in autonomous areas and "local affairs" of all nationalities in autonomous areas exists an interactive relationship between "spillover" and "internalization." This is an inevitable trend of the increased integration between all nationalities. In this sense, the people of all nationalities in national autonomous areas share the right to autonomy through the system of democratic centralism involving people's congresses.

The content on autonomy in the Law on Regional National Autonomy includes "nationality affairs" as well as "local affairs;" however, these principled provisions require every autonomous region to proceed from reality and to substantiate them by formulating and improving autonomous and separate regulations. In this regard, the practice of the system of regional national autonomy has already made remarkable achievements in the construction of the legal system, but in terms of conforming and adapting to the development process of building a moderately prosperous society and achieving the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, particularly in implementing the new round of the strategy for the large-scale development of the western region, the tasks for further improving the system of regional national autonomy are still onerous. To improve the system of regional national autonomy, it is necessary to accelerate the formulation, in accordance with law, of autonomous and separate regulations by autonomous areas, especially the formulation of autonomous regulations by the five autonomous regions. At the same time, in accordance

with the provisions of the Law on Regional National Autonomy, "The State Council and its relevant departments shall, within their functions and powers, separately formulate administrative regulations, rules, specific measures and methods for implementing this Law." However, the current situation is that, "The vast majority of relevant departments of the State Council have not yet formulated supporting regulations, measures and methods, and no autonomous regulations by the five autonomous regions have appeared."[131]

Before the Law on Regional National Autonomy was even promulgated, the two autonomous regions of Guangxi and Inner Mongolia had already begun to research and draft autonomous regulations. In 1984, following the promulgation of the Law, work on draft autonomous regulations began in the five autonomous regions and made varying degrees of process with researching, drafting and consultation work. The majority of autonomous regions drafted regulations on the exercise of autonomy, while some produced more than 20. Academics similarly carried out related research on the formulation of regulations on the exercise of autonomy by autonomous regions. In 2005, after the State Council issued the Regulations of the State Council on Implementing the Law on Regional National Autonomy, the drafting and formulating of autonomous and separate regulations entered a new stage, with more explicit guidelines from the state for implementing the Law on Regional National Autonomy and the formulation of supporting laws and regulations by autonomous areas. Practicing these guidelines is the joint responsibility of national autonomous areas and China's state organs.

A prominent problem encountered in the course of the five current autonomous regions formulating autonomous regulations is that conflicts over "powers, responsibilities and interests" exist between some of the content of autonomous regulations developed by autonomous regions and the regulations and policies of ministries and commissions under the State Council. Resolving this problem required cooperative study and democratic consultations between autonomous areas and state organs in order to clarify and determine the content of autonomy of autonomous regions while adhering to the basic principle of safeguarding national unity. During this process, the autonomous areas' understanding of autonomy was not a "political demand," nor was China's state organs' interpretation of relevant laws and policies "hegemonic discourse," because the regulations on autonomy of the autonomous regions are not simply local legislation, nor are they purely about the allocation of power between the central and local governments. Rather, they are standards for safeguarding national unity and guaranteeing the right of autonomous areas to exercise autonomy in accordance with China's Constitution and the Basic Law. As such, the relationship between the local government and governments of autonomous areas is not a game-playing relationship, but a volitional institutional construction

[131] "Report of the Law Enforcement Inspection Team of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on the Implementation of the Law of the People's Republic of China on Regional National Autonomy," the State Ethnic Affairs Commission and the CPC Central Committee's Party Literature Research Office (eds.), *Selected Documents on Our Work Related to Nationalities* (2003–09), Central Party Literature Publishing House, Beijing, 2010, p. 189.

for jointly safeguarding national unity because China's desire for national unity included implementing the system of regional national autonomy.

The formulation of autonomous regulations at the autonomous region level is an important step in improving the system of regional national autonomy, as well as an extremely complex legal and institutional project that constitutes an important part of the development of socialist democratic politics in China. The formulation of regulations on autonomy must be adapted to local conditions. In other words, the autonomous regulations of each autonomous area must adhere to the basic principle of national unity and take the realities of their respective autonomous areas as their starting point when formulating regulations in accordance with the Law on Regional National Autonomy. This includes two important points: first, commencing from the realities (the conditions in autonomous regions, prefectures and counties) of national autonomous areas, and second, commencing from the realities of minority nationalities (their population, language, economy, culture, religious beliefs and other characteristics) in national autonomous areas implementing autonomy. Therefore, the regulations on autonomy of the five autonomous regions cannot be the same; they must have similarities as well as individual characteristics. A similarity would be safeguarding national unity, and their individual characteristics will come from taking the realities of their regions as their starting point. In the Tibet Autonomous Region, in the process of practicing the strategies of leap-frog development and long-term stability, having "both Chinese and Tibetan characteristics" is a basic requirement for achieving these strategic objectives. It is also the basic requirement that the Tibet Autonomous Region's regulations on autonomy needs to embody. This is the same for all autonomous regions. Suiting measures to local conditions is about seeking truth from facts and taking reality as the starting point. This is a basic principle that must be adhered to when improving the system of regional national autonomy, and it is a basic principle of the Party and state for tailoring guidance to specific circumstances for economic and social development in national autonomous areas.

In recent years, in the course of implementing the strategy for the large-scale development of the western region, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council have enacted suggestions for further promoting economic and social development in Ningxia and Guangxi, and they have made strategic arrangements for achieving leap-frog development and long-term stability in Tibet and Xinjiang. In 2011, they also issued a number of suggestions on further promoting economic and social development in Inner Mongolia. These major decisions are all aimed at uniting all China's nationalities in struggle, achieving common prosperity and development, and building a moderately prosperous society in all respects. They all take the local conditions of each autonomous region as their starting point, and have created a more complete economic and social development policy environment for the formulation of regulations on autonomy by the five autonomous regions as well as the conditions to accelerate the formulation of regulations on autonomy in the course of implementing these major decisions. With the implementation of the 12th-Five Year Plan and the further development of the strategy for the long-term development of the western region over the next 10 years, the economic and social environment for

formulating autonomous regulations at the autonomous region level will further improve, and with the formation of the legal system of socialism with Chinese characteristics, the legal environment for formulating autonomous regulations at the autonomous region level is already in place. The self-improvement of the system of regional national should become an important part of developing a Chinese political civilization and make new progress. The promulgation of autonomous regulations at the autonomous region level is an institutional guarantee for achieving political and social stability and national unity, and will more fully reflect the institutional advantage of the economic and social development of minority nationalities benefiting one side and helping the people. At the same time, it will enhance institutional forces for responding to challenges from foreign hostile forces.

### *5.4.3 Firmly Adhere to Peaceful Development as the Central Theme of Cross-Strait Relationship*

In April 2005, not long after the Anti-Separation Law was announced on the mainland, a major historic event in Cross-Strait relations occurred. Lien Chan, chairman of the KMT, visited the mainland. This was a significant milestone in the history of relations between the CPC and KMT, and a major breakthrough in Cross-Strait relations. When General Secretary of the CPC Hu Jintao met Lien Chan, he stressed that he welcomed Taiwanese political parties, groups and representatives who recognized the 1992 Consensus, opposed Taiwan independence and advocated developing Cross-Strait relations to carry out exchanges and dialogue with the mainland and jointly promote the improvement and development of Cross-Strait relations. On the issue of the 1992 Consensus, KMT chairman Lien Chan expressed, "On this issue, the KMT position has never wavered. We hope that, by continuing on this basis, it will be possible to construct a bright future for both sides of the Strait." The effect of the meeting between Hu Jintao and Lien Chan was monumental. It not only built a platform for Cross-Strait exchanges and meetings between the KMT and CPC, but opened and expanded channels for communication between other Taiwanese political parties and the mainland. This opened the way for Cross-Strait peaceful development, and the report of the 17th National Congress of the CPC proposed to "firmly grasp the themes of Cross-Strait relations and peaceful development."

In 2008, the KMT was victorious in the battle for power in Taiwan, with KMT Chairman Ma Ying-jeou becoming the leader of the Taiwan authorities. In view of the consensus already reached between the KMT and CPC, after coming to power, Ma Ying-jeou, "Not only quickly reversed the erroneous policy toward the mainland of his predecessor of 'blockading ourselves and resisting the mainland,' but also set straight the unconstitutional position on Cross-Strait relations taken by Lee Teng-hui and the DPP."[132] At the same time, the two sides restarted talks between the

[132] Yang Kai-huang (2009), p. 3.

Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits (ARATS) and the Straits Exchange Foundation (SEF) which had been on hold for almost 10 years, and gradually reached a series of consensuses.

On December 31, 2008, on the 30th Anniversary of the issuance of the Message to Our Compatriots in Taiwan, Hu Jintao gave a speech titled "Let Us Join Hands to Promote the Peaceful Development of Cross-Straits Relations and Strive with a United Will for the Great Rejuvenation of the Chinese Nation," in which he stated: "Most central to the settlement of the Taiwan question is the reunification of the motherland. Its purpose is to safeguard and guarantee national sovereignty and territorial integrity, pursue happiness for all the people of the Chinese nation, including our compatriots in Taiwan, and realize the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. Reunifying the motherland by peaceful means is most consistent with the fundamental interests of the Chinese nation, including our compatriots in Taiwan. It is also in tune with the trend of the times, namely, aspiring for peace, seeking development and promoting cooperation."[133] He also stated, "We must gaze into the distance from a high eminence, assess the current situation, and carefully consider and practically solve major issues impacting the development of Cross-Straits relations with an awareness of our responsibility to history and to the people, and from the perspective of development of the entire nation, while demonstrating broader vision, deeper wisdom, more stalwart courage and a more pragmatic thought process." He then went on to propose six principles:

First, firmly abide by the One-China principle and enhance mutual political trust. Defending our national sovereignty and territorial integrity is a core interest of the nation. There is only one China in the world: China's sovereignty and territorial integrity will brook no partition. Second, advance economic cooperation and promote common development. Our compatriots on both sides must engage in extensive economic cooperation, expand the three direct links across the Straits, cultivate and augment common interests, form close ties and achieve mutually benefit and a win-win situation. Third, promote Chinese culture and strengthen spiritual bonds. Chinese culture boasts a long history illuminated by glorious splendors. It is a common and precious asset of our compatriots on both sides and an important link guaranteeing the national emotional bonds between them. Fourth, strengthen two-way visits of people and expand exchanges in various circles. Our compatriots on both sides should expand exchanges; various communities on the two sides, and their representatives, should intensify exchanges, strengthen communication in good faith, and enhance mutual understanding. Fifth, safeguard national sovereignty and hold consultations on foreign affairs. Sixth, end the state of hostilities and reach a peace agreement. These are programmatic principles for the mainland's Taiwan affairs under the new conditions.

[133] Hu Jintao, "Let Us Join Hands to Promote the Peaceful Development of Cross-Straits Relations and Strive with a United Will for the Great Rejuvenation of the Chinese Nation," http://news.xinhuanet.com/newscenter/2008-12/31/. This reference will not be cited again in further quotations from it.

These six new programmatic principles on Taiwan affairs include a series of extremely important principled positions and basic propositions, which fully reveal the mainland's sincere desire to peacefully develop Cross-Strait relations. For example,

- Although the mainland and Taiwan have not yet reunited since 1949, this circumstance per se does not denote a state of partition of Chinese territory and sovereignty. Rather, it is merely a state of political antagonism that is a legacy – albeit a lingering one – of the Chinese civil war waged in the mid- to late-1940s. Nevertheless, this does not alter the fact that both the mainland and Taiwan belong to one China. For the two sides of the Straits to return to unity will not affect an alteration of sovereignty or territory, but merely end political antagonism.
- Continuing to oppose the separationist activities of the forces advocating Taiwan independence is a necessary condition for promoting the peaceful development of Cross-Straits relations and is the joint responsibility of our compatriots on both sides. Anything conducive to the peaceful development of Cross-Straits relations must be energetically promoted; anything detrimental must be staunchly opposed. As to those individuals who formerly advocated, engaged in, or pursued Taiwan independence, we shall also warmly and sincerely welcome them to return to the correct course of promoting the peaceful development of Cross-Straits relations. We hope the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) will realize a clear understanding of the tenor of the times, and cease carrying out its Taiwan independence separationist activities and acting at loggerheads with the common wish of the entire nation. To the extent that the DPP recants its Taiwan independence separationist position, this will elicit a positive response from us.
- The two sides of the Straits may sign a comprehensive economic cooperation agreement to this end and establish a mechanism for economic cooperation which defers to the characteristics of both sides, so as to maximize the synergy of respective advantages and mutual benefits. Establishing a closer mechanism for Cross-Straits economic cooperation is conducive to making Taiwan's economy more competitive and expanding the arena for its development, conducive to promoting the common development of the economies on both sides, and conducive to exploring feasible approaches to the dovetailing of the common development of these economies with the economic cooperation mechanism in the Asia-Pacific region.
- Chinese culture has deep roots and luxuriant foliage in Taiwan; Taiwan culture has enriched the substance of Chinese culture. The sentiments of our Taiwan compatriots who love their home and their land do not necessarily equate with a consciousness of Taiwan independence. Our compatriots on both sides should jointly inherit and promote the exquisite traditions of Chinese culture, conduct cultural exchanges in varied forms and enable Chinese culture to pass down from one generation to the next enhanced, so as to boost our national consciousness, build up a common will and generate spiritual strength for the joint endeavor toward the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

– For the two sides of the Straits to avoid unnecessary internal strife in foreign affairs is conducive to furthering the overall interests of the Chinese nation. Further consultations can be conducted, as needed, on the prospect of Taiwan's people-to-people, economic and cultural interactions with other countries. Regarding the issue of Taiwan's participating in the activities of international organizations, fair and reasonable arrangements can be effected through pragmatic consultation between the two sides, provided that this does not give rise to notions of "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan." Settling the Taiwan question and realizing the complete reunification of the country is an internal affair of China and is not subject to interference by any foreign forces.
– In order to facilitate their consultations and negotiations and their arrangements for their interactions, the two sides may make pragmatic explorations in their political relations under the special circumstances where the country has not yet been reunified. In the interest of stabilizing the situation in the Taiwan Straits and allaying apprehensions relating to military security, the two sides may at an opportune time engage and exchange with each other on military issues and explore a mechanism for fostering mutual trust with respect to military security. Accordingly, we hereby renew our appeal: On the basis of the One-China principle, we should formally end the state of hostilities across the Straits through consultation, reach a peace agreement, and build a framework for the peaceful development of Cross-Straits relations.

In May 2009, Hu Jintao met with KMT Chairman Wu Po-hsiung and his delegation and talked further about the above principles and propositions. On the issue, Wu Po-hsiung commented, "Over the past year, both sides have continued to establish mutual trust and put aside differences, constantly sought common ground and deepened cooperation, and moved toward peace and common prosperity and mutual benefit by facing reality and building for the future, and fruitful results have been achieved in developing Cross-Strait relations. These results have been achieved thanks to the mutual political trust between the two sides, which is based on upholding the 1992 Consensus and opposing Taiwan independence. Peaceful development of Cross-Strait relations is the wish of people on both sides of the Strait and the international community…. The majority of Taiwanese people have felt the positive effects brought about by Cross-Strait exchanges and consultations, and are therefore more supportive of the peaceful development of Cross-Strait relations. Practice has shown that our efforts are moving in the right direction, and that they must continue. I hope both sides enhance mutual trust, eschew differences and seek common ground, actively promote positive interactions and steadily accumulate experience in solving problems so as to jointly create peace, promote stability, seek development and enjoy prosperity."[134]

The Cross-Strait peaceful development is not a proposition and principle in concept only. Since June 2008, when ARATS and SEF resumed consultations, until

[134] Cf. "Hu Jintao Meets with a Visit-Mainland Delegation Headed by Wu Po-hsiung" at http://www.gov.cn/ldhd/2009-05/26/.

May 2011, the two sides have signed 15 agreements and reached two consensuses. The two sides have reached an agreement on resuming direct charter flights between the mainland and Taiwan, and signed agreements on the economy and people's lives, including areas such as the Cross-Strait Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA), allowing mainland tourists to visit Taiwan, financial cooperation, food safety management and healthcare. The implementation of these agreements has boosted the economies of both sides, and brought substantial benefits to the people of Taiwan. Since July 18, 2007, when mainland tourists were first allowed to visit Taiwan, until the end of May 2011, more than 2.34 million mainlanders have traveled to Taiwan, making the mainland Taiwan's biggest source market. By June 2011, mainland enterprises had invested in 86 projects in Taiwan with a total investment of US$180 million. Investment in Taiwan by mainland enterprises has helped to promote employment in Taiwan, revived the Taiwan's economy, but also helped mainland enterprises to seek better development, thereby achieving mutual benefit for both sides. Cross-Strait economic, cultural and personnel exchanges and cooperation are of great significance to promoting Cross-Strait peaceful development.

In this regard, Taiwanese scholars believe that. "Cross-Strait economic interactions and common interests can provide a continuous driving force for developing Cross-Strait relations; Cross-Strait cultural exchanges and better mutual understand can provide a guarantee for avoiding misunderstandings for peaceful Cross-Straits relations. But neither can necessarily resolve the issue of "power." In terms of the political issues of both sides, the elites in particular need to emancipate their minds, think creatively, advance discussions and compromise. These are all feasible. Following no set form is another unique characteristic of both sides. Future political arrangements between the two sides could lead to finding a path to peaceful development through compromise."[135] Indeed, in the course of practicing Cross-Strait peaceful development, things will inevitably start off easily and get more difficult, and it will be a step-by-step process. However, the necessary political environment for economic, cultural and civil exchanges must be stabilized on the basis of the 1992 Consensus and peaceful development. The mainland aims to create the favorable conditions for this through increasingly close Cross-Strait interactions. However, the change of political power in Taiwan that occurred in 2012 will produce variables regarding the activities of "Taiwan independence forces" that could affect the current peaceful development.

As Hu Jintao has pointed out, "Our compatriots on both sides of the Straits form a community of common destiny bound by bonds of blood. China, which includes the mainland and Taiwan, is the common home of our compatriots on both sides, who are thus duty-bound to safeguard and build her well. It takes the joint efforts of our compatriots on both sides to achieve the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, our compatriots on both sides must jointly create a new phase in the peaceful development of Cross-Straits relations, and they will jointly enjoy the fruits thereof.… The future of Taiwan hinges upon the peaceful development of Cross-Straits relations and upon the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation." Without

[135] Yang Kai-huang (2009), p. 48.

Cross-Strait peaceful development based on recognition that both sides are part of the Chinese nation, there can be no great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

In the process of leading the people of all China's nationalities in carrying out socialist revolution and construction, when solving nationality issues the CPC has always safeguarded national unity and firmly opposed ethnic separatism, for this is the basis for achieving the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. The People's Republic of China is no longer the weak, impoverished and bullied nation it was in the first half of the twentieth century. Today, China is capable of safeguarding national sovereignty and territorial integrity; it is capable of meeting the countries of the world on an equal footing and engaging in mutual cooperation; and it is capable of solving the various problems left to it by history. Needless to say, this will be a long and arduous task. China not only needs to solve these historical legacies related to safeguarding national unity and opposing ethnic separatism, but confront the major cultural, ecological and social problems related to building a harmonious society and developing sustainably it faces in the course of economic and social development in the western region, and particularly in minority nationality areas. Resolving these problems is of great significance for eliminating the historical legacy of nationality issues.

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# Chapter 6
# Building a Harmonious Society and Achieving Sound Development

*A harmonious socialist society is a society that is full of vitality as well as one that enjoys unity and concord. We must do everything possible to boost the vitality of society, promote harmony in relations among political parties, ethnic groups, religions, social strata and compatriots at home and overseas, and consolidate the great unity of the people of all our nationalities and of all the sons and daughters of the Chinese nation all over the world.*

–Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Certain Major Issues Related to Building a Harmonious Socialist Society

*We must fully respect and understand the differences in nationalities' traditions, language, culture, customs and psychological identity that arouse through their historical development. We cannot ignore their existence or change them by force. We need to actively create the conditions to decrease and eliminate the disparities in the development level of nationalities.*

–Hu Jintao, "Report at the Central Conference on Nationality Work"

*The Scientific Outlook on Development takes development as its essence, putting people first as its core, comprehensive, balanced, and sustainable development as its basic requirement, and overall consideration as its fundamental approach.*

–Hu Jintao, "Report to the Seventeenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China"

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## 6.1 Building a Harmonious Society and the Relations between Nationalities

In 2006, the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixteenth Central Committee adopted the Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Certain Major Issues Related to Building a Harmonious Socialist Society (hereafter simply called the Decision).[1] The CPC took as its basis in setting forth the goals and tasks of building a harmonious society the proposition, "Social harmony is an essential attribute of socialism with Chinese characteristics and an important way to guarantee that the country can become strong and prosperous, that the nation can be rejuvenated and that the people are content." This proposition is a deeper answer to the fundamental major question, "What is socialism, and how should it be built?" It is also a high-level summary of the Party's goal in the new situation – to create a society in which people live together in harmony and everyone contributes what they can and get what they deserve, as well as a necessary requirement for consolidating the social foundation for the Party's exercise of power and fulfilling the historical tasks of the Party's rule. Therefore, adapting to the deep social changes in our country, giving priority to building a harmonious society, placing emphasis on stimulating social activity, promoting social equality and justice, strengthening awareness of the law and integrity throughout society, and safeguarding social stability and unity are solemn pledges the Party makes in putting the important thought of the Three Represents into practice. Therefore this Decision is an important programmatic document for guiding the flourishing development of socialist modernization with Chinese characteristics, and also an important guiding document for further emancipating our minds and carrying out reform and opening up in China's new historical conditions. It has great significance for solving China's nationality question.

### *6.1.1 Comprehensive Approach Taking into Consideration the Diversity of Interests*

China's cause of reform and opening up is an unprecedented social construction project centered on economic development. In the course of carrying out differential development in the east and west in relation to the two overriding issues, economic and social development with the focus on the strategy of the large-scale development of the western region has opened a new stage in building a moderately prosperous society in all respects. In making overall plans for coordinated regional development, the Party and government have arranged to give impetus to the large-scale development of the western region, rejuvenate old industrial bases in the

[1] *Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Certain Major Issues Related to Building a Harmonious Socialist Society*, People's Publishing House, Beijing, 2006 (will not be footnoted again in subsequent references).

northeast and elsewhere, stimulate the rise of the central region and encourage the eastern region to take the lead in development; and they have developed a pattern of regional development with a reasonable division of labor in which each region has its unique characteristics and the strengths of different regions complement each other so as to stimulate the common development and prosperity of all of China's economic and geographic regions.

The common development and prosperity of all of China's nationalities is the basic standpoint for fully achieving social equality whose essence is "common." Concerning a large multi-national country like ours in which there are great regional differences in the distribution of nationalities, natural environment, historical foundation and level of development, the common development of nationalities on the foundation of equality does not and cannot mean advancing in lockstep or advancing on the basis of a single model. Given China's unique national conditions, the only course is to allow regions with the conditions to develop rapidly to develop first, and make use of the results of their development in the areas of finance, technology, markets and experience to lead the rapid development of underdeveloped regions on the basis of overall planning and coordination of the state and support from other regions. Therefore, "common" pertains to the overall picture, and doesn't mean everywhere doing the same thing at the same time. Rather it means achieving the goal of common development step by step on a strategic basis by letting some regions develop before others. This is a pragmatic Marxist attitude, and the most effective way to coordinate the development hopes and basic interests of all the country's nationalities and regions.

The decision states, "China is now in a critical period for reform and development complicated by profound changes in the economic system and social structure, profound changes affecting the interests of various sectors of society and profound changes in thinking and concepts. These unprecedented social changes provide a huge amount of vitality for China's development and progress, but also inevitably create a wide variety of conflicts and problems." These conflicts and problems include a wide variety of social problems, including problems concerning nationalities, that are becoming more acute all the time and whose manifestation is concentrated in a number of intertwined areas. These include "a serious imbalance between urban and rural development, in development among regions, and between economic development and social progress as well as increased pressure from changes in the population, resources and the environment. Issues that affect the vital interests of the masses such as those related to employment, social security, income distribution, education, medical care, housing, production safety and public security are fairly serious. Improvement is still needed in systems and mechanisms, and democracy and the legal system are still not very sound. Some members of society are not trustworthy and have low ethical and moral standards, and some leading cadres cannot meet the requirements for handling the new situations and new tasks in terms of their educational background, ethical standards, abilities and work style. Corruption in some areas is still fairly serious. Infiltration and other destructive activities of hostile forces threaten national security and social stability." These problems not only are prominent where there are already-existing disparities

between urban and rural areas, between regions and between nationalities, but are also becoming ever more apparent in civil society between classes, families and individuals. In the course of more than 20 years of constant and rapid economic development and social transformation, China's pattern of interests began to develop in diverse directions after the beginning of the twenty-first century.

On November 1, 1991, the Chinese government published "Human Rights in China," its first White Paper on human rights. From this point on much greater emphasis was placed on the right to survival and development of the people of all China's nationalities as the basic human rights. For the people of all China's nationalities, as reform and opening up progressed, and particularly as a result of unremitting work over a long period of time to eliminate poverty, the general problem of the right to survival has been effectively solved. Concerning the right to development, China has developed significantly in comparison to other countries in the world, and within China considerable progress has been made toward common development of urban and rural areas, of regions and of nationalities. However, the basic issue of human development has begun to appear as a collective human right alongside the rights to survival and development. The collective human right of human development is manifested in state policies guaranteeing the rights of minority nationalities, farmers, the handicapped and women, and it is also manifested in demands for individual development. People generally make ever-increasing demands concerning employment, social security, income distribution, education, medical treatment, housing, work safety and public security, especially demands for fairness and justice in these areas, all of which have become focal points of the interests of the masses as a result of people having common feelings arising out of their individual or family circumstances, and this is what gives them their universality.

Hu Jintao said, "The harmonious socialist society we build should be a democratic, law-based, fair, just, honest, friendly, safe, orderly and vigorous society in which people live in harmony with nature."[2] A harmonious society that has these characteristics is a society built on the foundation of human rights in which people are equal before the law. Equality doesn't mean everyone is the same. Equality includes human dignity, social position, civil rights and the right to use public services. However, people's differing levels of personal development (economic resources and educational and skills level) create a situation in which people are not in fact equal. This is a problem society must solve. Because society has insufficient resources for ensuring equality before the law, it is not possible to achieve genuine equality. There are no exceptions to this in nationality relations or in other kinds of social relations.

The common development and prosperity that socialism with Chinese characteristics pursues are intended to achieve genuine equality, that is, to create and provide equality on the basis of which everyone can share the fruits of development and have the opportunity to develop. Of course, "We need to accept that the effective implementation of legal equality, like the realization of true equality of opportunity,

[2] Hu Jintao (2005).

will require many years, even decades."[3] Therefore, we cannot overlook building the basic social conditions for a harmonious society and for fairness and justice. The Party Central Committee repeatedly emphasized in the Decision, "Because China is still in the primary stage of socialism and will remain in this stage for a long time to come, the principal problem in Chinese society is still how to meet the ever-increasing material and cultural needs of the people with outdated social production. The task of balancing the interests of all sides is huge and arduous."

The Decision states "The task of balancing the interests of all sides is huge and arduous" because China is in the primary stage of socialism, that is because the basic social contradictions of Chinese society have not yet changed, and China requires three steps to reach the level of a moderately development country, with the target for reaching it being the middle of the twenty-first century. In the course of such a long process, it will be very difficult to give comprehensive consideration to the interests of all parties and to understand all the various simplifications and vulgurizations of the idea of a harmonious society that exist in society. Creating a harmonious society not only means comprehensive economic and social development, but also means great changes in people's thinking. There is no question that in the present conditions of China's economic and social development, society's ability to satisfy the ever-increasing material demands of the people of all China's nationalities has increased significantly. However, it is also a fact that "outdated social production" is the main area in which basic social contradictions occur. Therefore, "We must do a good job promoting development, which is the primary task of the Party in running the government and rejuvenating the nation. We should balance urban and rural development, development among regions, economic and social development, development of man and nature, and domestic development and opening to the outside world. We need to change the pattern of growth, improve the quality of development, promote economical, clean and safe development and strive for comprehensive, balanced and sustainable economic and social development." In this kind of development situation, we need to more actively face and resolve contradictions, increase factors contributing to harmony and decrease factors harmful to it to the greatest possible extent, and constantly promote social harmony, and then "constantly work to satisfy the ever-increasing material and cultural needs of the people, ensure that development is for the people, relies on the people and benefits the people, and promote people's all-round personal development."

In 1956, Mao Zedong published "On the Ten Major Relationships," which was of great guiding significance for exploring the path for building socialism, and its main purpose was to comprehensively consider a wide variety of relationships. Although changes in the situation after 1957 made it impossible to make full use of the thinking expressed in that essay, the Decision adopted by the CPC 50 years later for building a harmonious socialist society draws upon, develops and enriches it. The Decision gives a new explanation of the important position of nationality and religious affairs in building a harmonious society.

[3] Fleiner (1999), p. 111.

### *6.1.2 The Harmony of Nationality Relations*

Since adopting the reform and opening up policy, consolidating and developing socialist nationality relations of equality, unity and mutual aid has been one of the important aspects of the Party and government's nationality work. Nationality relations constitute the most important domestic relation for a united multi-nationality country. The state of these relations is not a barometer for the degree to which the nationality question has been solved, but is also the source of strength for getting all nationalities to unite in common struggle and achieve common prosperity and development. In the Decision pertaining to building a harmonious socialist society, the Party Central Committee, in the spirit of advancing with the times, set forth harmony as the fourth characteristic of China's socialist nationality relations, to stand alongside equality, unity and mutual aid. Building a harmonious society and comprehensively considering the diversity of interest demands is an internal requirement for adjusting all kinds of social relations. The Decision states, "A harmonious socialist society is a society that is full of vitality as well as one that enjoys unity and concord. We must do everything possible to boost the vitality of society, promote harmony in relations among political parties, ethnic groups, religions, social strata and compatriots at home and overseas, and consolidate the great unity of the people of all our ethnic groups and of all the sons and daughters of the Chinese nation all over the world." Nationality relations, including religious relations, are the most important focus of nationality work. Therefore, making the concept of harmony the basic characteristic of socialist nationality relations is a more complete summary and guide concerning nationality relations for the CPC in the course of building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Harmonious nationality relations must be grounded on the equality of all nationalities. All nationalities are equal no matter how large or small they are, how long or short their history is, or how developed they are. This is the basic standpoint for solving the nationality question. Equality is not only political equality, but also includes equality in all areas of economic, cultural and social activities. Achieving the large-scale development of the western region, accelerating the economic and social development of minority nationalities and nationality areas, eliminating the disparities of historical origin in the level of development, and narrowing the presently increasing disparities in development are result of the comprehensive consideration of the interest demands of urgent wishes for the common development of all nationalities and nationality areas. This is the path that must be taken to comprehensively achieve equality and social justice.

The harmony of nationality relations must strengthen the unity of all nationalities. The unity of all nationalities in a multi-nationality country is the foundation for the cohesion of the Chinese nation on the nationwide level, the basic factor for integrating national strength and the most important index for measuring the degree of social harmony. The compatibility of basic interests is a perquisite for unity, so that uniting in common struggle will lead to common prosperity and development. The compatibility of all nationalities' basic interests, including the specific interest

demands of all nationalities for their own development, such as interests pertaining to unique economic factors due to local conditions and the diversity of culture, language heritage, religious beliefs and social customs, not only requires mutual respect and understanding between all nationalities, but also requires legal and policy guarantees. It is impossible to achieve unity without this kind of respect and understanding and without the guarantees of state law and social norms.

The harmony of nationality relations can be strengthened only through mutual aid. Nationalities unite in common struggle and achieve common prosperity and development through mutual aid. Without mutual aid it is impossible to achieve collaboration. Mutual aid is the sign of the vibrancy of nationality relations, and its distinguishing feature is the constant increase in the degree of the intimacy, interdependency and interlocking interests of the interactive relations between nationalities. Our country's nationalities have forged three kinds of inseparable relations. These are relations of mutual aid, and not relations of suzerainty which prevailed in dynastic times and not relations of dependence. The foundation for relations of mutual interdependence is equality, their guarantee in unity, and their goal is common prosperity and development. Mutual aid is mutual interaction and mutual assistance. Mao Zedong once gave a well-known and brilliant exposition of mutual aid, "So the minority nationalities have been a great help politically, economically and in national defense to the whole country, the whole Chinese nation. It is wrong to think that only the Hans have helped the minority nationalities while the minority nationalities have not helped the Hans, or to swell with pride over the little help given to the minority nationalities."[4] "China cannot do without its minority nationalities. There are scores of nationalities in China. The regions inhabited by the minority nationalities are more extensive in area than those inhabited by the Han nationality and abound in material wealth of all kinds. Our national economy cannot do without the economy of the minority nationalities."[5] Therefore, mutual aid between nationalities cannot be measured by economic data. Mao Zedong's interpretation of the relation between a large population and a vast land has been fully exemplified as never before since adopting the reform and opening up policy and especially since beginning the large-scale development of the western region. Although the problem of backward economic and social development is widespread in the western region, especially in minority nationality areas, it is also the region of China with the richest natural and cultural resources.

Concerning natural resources, minority nationality autonomous areas possess 75 % of our country's grasslands, 51.8 % of its timber resources, and 66 % of its water resources.[6] They also have rich stores of coal, oil and natural gas resources, and they are the strategic continuation area for the sustainable use of natural resources for China's future development. At the same time, the traditional cultural resources of all the minority nationalities is the common cultural wealth created and accumulated by the peoples of the five directions and their descendants in together

[4] Mao Zedong (1994), p. 113.

[5] Mao Zedong, "More on Combating Han Chauvinism," *ibid.*, p. 115.

[6] National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China (2010), p. 23.

building a united multi-nationality country, as well as local resources for building an advanced socialist culture with Chinese characteristics. The contribution the exploitation and use of these resources make to the overall interests of national unity and to building a harmonious society is a contribution to achieving the goal of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

Therefore, the degree of harmony in nationality relations is a criterion of the degree of equality, unity and mutual aid among nationalities. The Decision set forth a series of policy guidelines and work requirements for making nationality relations more harmonious in the course of building a harmonious socialist society, and also set forth thinking of great theoretical and practical significance.

First, it is extremely urgent to solve the problem of making basic public services more equal in the course of economic and social development. This is a necessary condition for the people of all nationalities to enjoy the fruits of reform and opening up and have equal opportunity to achieve personal development. Therefore, the focus of central government transfer payments shall be used for building infrastructure in the western region and improving public service infrastructure in the areas of education, health and culture, in order to gradually lessen the disparity between basic public services between regions. We will steadfastly give priority to rural areas, the central and western regions, impoverished areas, border areas and minority nationality areas in the distribution of educational resources to gradually decrease the disparities in educational development between urban and rural areas and between regions. We will also focus on developing social undertakings and solving problems in people's lives, optimize the allocation of public resources, giving priority to rural areas, the primary level and underdeveloped areas to gradually develop a system of basic public services that benefits all the people. These are all important measures for making public welfare undertakings more equitable, and this is extremely important and urgent in minority nationality areas.

Second, firmly grasping the theme of uniting in common struggle and achieving common prosperity and development; conscientiously implementing all the Party's nationality policies; adhering to and improving the system of regional autonomy; strengthening and developing socialist nationality relations of equality, unity, mutual aid and harmony; widely carrying out activities promoting unity and progress of nationalities; and getting the people of all nationalities to live together in peace, pull together for a common cause and develop in harmony are the basic guarantees for creating a harmonious socialist environment. Comprehensively implementing the Party's policy on the freedom of religious belief, supervising religious activities in accordance with the law, actively guiding religions and our socialist society to adapt to each other, strengthening the unity between religious believers and nonbelievers and between believers of different religions, and fostering the positive role of religion in promoting social harmony are the key to mobilizing and arousing the enthusiasm of all sectors for building a harmonious society. In many minority nationalities, all members of the nationality are devout believers of the same religion, so getting religion to play an active role in promoting social harmony is an important manifestation of the mutual adaptation of religion and socialist

society to each other and an important fulcrum for making nationality relations more harmonious.

Third, creating a harmonious culture is an important task of building a harmonious socialist society. The system of core socialist values is the foundation for creating a harmonious culture. Steadfastly using the system of core socialist values to guide trends of thinking in society and cultivating respect for differences and embracing diversity in order to create the greatest possible ideological consensus in society are the spiritual motive force for the unity of nationalities and the cohesion of society. Culture is a crystallization of the intellectual and material creativity of humanity, an important sign that different natural environments produce different cultures, and the most prominent characteristic of the diversity of nationalities. Therefore, the convergence levels of economic and social development of nationalities can lay a material foundation for equality, unity, mutual aid and harmony, but cultural differences between them are a deep-seated conceptual factor that affects the stability this equality, unity, mutual aid and harmony. Under the conditions of the cultural diversity of nationalities, how to get them to live together in harmony, prosper in unison, and all be cultural pillars of a colorful, harmonious socialist society that enhance each other's attributes and blend into one is a major conceptual and practical question that should be explored. Respecting differences and embracing diversity provide a basis for exploring this question.

### *6.1.3 Respecting Differences and Embracing Diversity*

The principle stated in the Decision, "We must consistently use the system of core socialist values to guide developments of ideas in society, respect differences, embrace diversity and, to the greatest possible degree, form a common ideological awareness," is of great significance for a unified multi-nationality country like China. Respecting differences and embracing diversity are an important way of thinking, and they are the basis for grasping the cultural and intellectual diversity that is taking place in the contemporary world, an important foundation for building a harmonious society and an innovative society and developing advanced socialist culture, and a new concept of civilization that Chinese Communists have established in the new historical conditions by abiding by the objective law of the development of human society. This kind of concept of civilization opens new vistas for dealing with nationality relations, international relations, and all kinds of complicated matters in both a multi-nationality country and a pluralistic world.

Through the course of the evolution of human society over eons, human society has always been faced with the objective existence of cultural differences and the diversity of social life. There have been countless attempts to eliminate differences and diversity in China and abroad throughout history. The nationality question is a good example of this. A nationality is a stable form of human community that has undergone a complex process of formation and development. Nationalities differ in their language, settlements, economic life, social customs, religious beliefs, sense

of values and forms of behavior, and they are the most basic exemplars of cultural diversity in countries with minority nationalities and in our pluralistic world. In a country, the diversity of nationalities exhibits the differences (heterogeneity) of culture in its general sense. The kind of social relations that such different groups form are nationality relations, and the problems that the differences between them give rise to are nationality questions. In the contemporary world, nationality questions are in the final analysis some of the most prominent social problems in a country. At present, no country in the world can say that it has solved its nationality problems. Does the basic reason for this lie in resolving the basic thinking about the nationality question, eliminating differences and achieving uniformity, or in respecting differences and creating harmony? This is a global question.

The American futurist John Naisbitt said as our lifestyles grow increasingly uniform, we will more persistently seek more deep-seated values, namely, religion, languages, art and literature. When the external world is becoming increasingly similar, we will better cherish the traditional things that were derived from within.[7] This is particularly significant for the world today, especially in the process of modernization driven by economic globalization. On November 2, 2001, the 31st session of the General Conference of UNESCO adopted the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, which stated, "As a source of exchange, innovation and creativity, cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature." If you say biodiversity is the foundation for nature, cultural diversity should be the foundation for maintaining human peace.

However, people's understanding of their own cultural diversity invariably takes an uncivilized form. Fearing, stigmatizing, rejecting and eliminating differences has always been in the dominant position in the course of human social development, and this has given rise to contradictions, clashes and wars throughout the course of human history. A number of theories and views justifying this practice have been popular throughout the world since the time Westerners call the period of the great geographical discoveries, for example, the poor judgment Westerners exercised concerning cultures different from theirs and their treatment of people who look different from them as inferiors contradict the biological view of the unity of the human race on the basis of the repudiation of cultural diversity. In today's world, even though "People acknowledge the unity of the human race, there is still the tendency to divide humanity into races and consider some races higher than others. Even though people acknowledge ethnic rights, some ethnic groups consider themselves better than others, and give themselves the mission of leading or ruling all of humanity."[8] Eurocentrism has not yet been eliminated and the notion of American supremacy has followed on its heels. They are the reason differences in civilizations and cultures have been magnified into culture clashes, and they have raised Western political culture to the level of universal laws that should prevail worldwide in an attempt to prove to all developing countries that "Industrialization, modernization

[7] Cf. Naisbitt and Aburdene (1990).

[8] Morin and Kern (1997), p. 8.

and Westernization are inevitably linked."[9] Their purpose is to have developing countries slavishly follow the United States and the West, and always depend on Western civilization represented by the United States with a sense of inferiority, subservience and thankfulness.

Differences in civilization and culture do not necessarily lead to conflict, but it is necessary to solve the conceptual and practical questions of how to deal with differences and diversity. Putting forward the idea of respecting differences and embracing diversity is a new concept of civilization whether from the perspective of differences in civilization and culture or the perspective of social systems, ideology and modes of development. In this world it is both correct and essential to recognize that the fundamental premises for producing different cultural views and values are equally legitimate. This makes it possible for the mutual understanding and respect between cultures, which is a fundamental precondition to stay at peace and survive in a culturally diversified world.[10] Acknowledging and respecting differences due to cultural diversity leads to the establishment of relations of mutual reliance and harmonious coexistence within the ecology of cultures. This is the core meaning of harmonious society. Culture can develop only through communication, which requires a social environment of equality and mutual benefit, and the basic characteristic of this kind of social atmosphere is harmony. From this perspective, respecting differences and embracing diversity represent the basic standpoint of the concept of social harmony.

In our world that has thousands of nationalities, respect for differences and embrace of diversity have their starting point in equality. All nationalities, no matter how large or small they are, what their level of social development is, or how great the cultural differences between them, are all equal. This is the cornerstone of the basic principle of the Marxist theory of nationalities, and a precondition for scientifically dealing with and solving nationality questions. In the realm of economic development, globalization has had a pervasive influence in the areas of material culture, science and technology, management models and living standards in the course of the modernization of human society, and it provides fruits of civilization that developing countries can learn from. All this is easy to see in the course of China's reform and opening up in which China focused on economic development and constantly integrated into global mechanisms of economic activities. However, in the area of cultural development, the powerful, popular mass culture of developed Western countries is now exerting an ever-increasing influence on developing countries, and traditional cultures and nationality cultures rooted in their native lands are disappearing or having difficulty being transmitted and developing. The so-called contradiction between tradition and modernity occurs widely in thinking, form, content and adaptation, and national nihilism and cultural nationalism coexist. There is also a mistaken idea: Westernerns typically believe that the entity and strength of science, technology and culture are real while the spirit and strength of

[9] Wallerstein et al. (1996), p. 87.

[10] Cf. Laszlo (1993).

traditional culture are not.[11] China has the same problem. To deal with this phenomenon, it is important to respect differences and be inclusive.

Hu Jintao said, "We need to fully respect and understand the differences in traditions, language, culture, customs and psychological identity between nationalities that have arisen in the course of historical development, and we cannot ignore their existence or use coercive means to change them. We need to actively create conditions for decreasing and eliminating disparities in development level between nationalities."[12] This is a concentrated manifestation of respect for differences and embrace of diversity in the outlook on nationalities. Fully respecting and understanding the factors that make the traditional cultures of nationalities unique is the basic meaning of achieving the equality of all nationalities. Decreasing and eliminating disparities in economic development and standards of living are the basic material guarantee for fully achieving human rights.

From the perspective of a general concept of culture, respecting differences does not mean adhering to cultural relativism and consequently solidifying and magnifying differences. Although cultural relativism acknowledges that different cultures have their own values, some cultural relativists deny that different cultures share values, and with respect to development arising out of interaction they go so far as to suggest that traditional culture should be frozen and preserved, or be treated as a museum exhibition and kept just the way it is. The life of culture lies in tradition, but the flourishing of culture lies in development. The course of tradition includes development, and development must assimilate and draw upon tradition. Any culture that is closed or rests on its laurels will of necessity stagnate, and in our constantly changing and developing world, stagnating means losing vitality.

Respecting differences also does not mean following the path of multiculturalism advocated by Western immigrant countries. Concerning the West, "However, beginning in the 1970s, under pressure from immigrant groups, all three countries [the United States, Canada and Australia] rejected the assimilationist model and adopted more tolerant and pluralistic policies that allow and indeed support immigrants to maintain various aspects of their ethnic heritage."[13] Although the United States has not formulated a system of multicultural policies, its laws and practices concerning multiculturalism are equal to those of countries that have. However, practice proves that multicultural policies rooted in Western social and political pluralism "increase the opportunities of persons to establish cordial relations also increase the occasions when persons can come into conflict."[14] It is not clear which of these two possibilities is the main current; opposition to pluralistic policies has arisen in a number of European and American countries in recent years, and Germany and Great Britain have admitted that their pluralistic policies have failed, so the future of multiculturalism is not very optimistic. Even when a government does all it can to disperse and assimilate the members of a racial group in an urban

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] Hu Jintao (2010), p. 70.

[13] Kymlicka (2001), p. 54.

[14] Blau (1977), p. 164.

environment, and "Different ethnic groups often occupy distinct neighbourhoods which have only limited contacts with one another."[15] Therefore, even though the multicultural policies adopted in Western societies have a definite level of respect for the position and rights of minority ethnic groups and indigenous people, multiculturalism is grounded on social and political diversity (including the multi-party political system); hence, it inevitably leads to the strengthening of the awareness of the "politics of difference" relative to all kinds of social groups such as ethnic groups, women, gays and religious groups and the strengthening of the sense of identity with members of one's own group. The actual results of these countries' multicultural policies cannot provide useful lessons for enriching and improving the notion of multiculturalism or a comparative frame of reference to China's notion of respecting differences and embracing diversity.

Embracing diversity does not mean tolerating or conniving at any phenomena that are not conducive to social harmony, stability and development. This is true in the areas of ideology, cultural expression, sense of values and ways of behaving, and also in promoting harmony and unity in relations between political parties, between nationalities, between religions, between social classes and between compatriots at home and abroad. Concerning ideology and social beliefs, the CPC has always advocated the policy of freedom of religious belief, and it has adopted policies for the work of actively guiding religions and socialist society to adapt to each other. Getting religions to play an active role in promoting social harmony is getting them to adapt to socialist society because harmony is an essential attribute of socialist society. However, theocracy, religious interference in politics, religious figures engaging in illegal political and social activities, such as temple monks in Tibet and similar areas engaging is separatist activities, of course are not included in the scope of embracing diversity and are surely sanctioned by law. This is also true in the broad cultural context and in the field of thought and morals.

All cultures have a background and process of formation and development, and they all have concepts and forms that are not entirely compatible with commonly accepted norms in a modern civilized society. For example, some traditional societies still practice rituals of mutilating parts of people's bodies, and many nationalities still have potlatch customs in which people compete to give away or destroy larger quantities of their own property. Although these activities are a part of traditional cultures, in a modern civilized society they are stereotypical examples of violating human rights, harming health, and endangering people's production and lives. Except for their research value as relics of the progress of human civilization, modern civilized society absolutely should not respect or embrace them because their background, concept of society and value orientation embody factors of inequality and barbarism, which can only gradually be changed through educational, social, cultural, educational, public health and human rights undertakings. This is also a task of building a harmonious society.

For humanity to be united despite cultural diversity, we must understand the innate and constantly increasing commonality of human beings beneath the complex

[15] Giddens (1994), p. 244.

overlay of diversity and coordinate differences (diversity), and then feel the unity within the diversity of human society from a higher level. Therefore, facing a world with thousands of nationalities, we need a new kind of thinking to understand the dialectical relation between unity and difference. Respecting differences and embracing diversity is this new kind of thinking. This is a creative enrichment and development of the Marxist theory of nationalities. The important viewpoint of the theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics is of great significance not only for cultural diversity and its transmission, development and innovation guided by the system of core socialist values, but also for establishing all kinds of social relations, including nationality relations. Difference and diversity are the grounds out of which contradictions arise, but they don't make contradictions inevitable. The key is how differences and diversity are dealt with. Respect for differences is a prerequisite for living together in harmony, and embracing diversity is a guarantee for achieving complementary innovation. A country and nation with different civilizations and cultures "should and can coexist for a long time, learn from and help each other through competition and comparison, and develop together by seeking common ground while putting aside differences."[16] This is the meaning of respecting differences and embracing diversity. It also the basic guarantee for stimulating the vitality of society and mobilizing all factors beneficial for safeguarding social harmony to the greatest possible extent.

The diversity stressed by the viewpoint of cultural diversity is not a pluralism in which everyone is isolated. If one makes use of the idea that biodiversity plays an irreplaceable role in safeguarding ecological balance, then cultural diversity should be seen as emphasizing the value of diversity and relations of mutual interdependence. Moreover, this "does not hinder the process of unification and the recurrence of diversification unfolding on a broader scale."[17] This kind of unfolding is a kind of creative development. This is a practical matter concerning worldview and methodology. The unity of a country and harmony within society require integrating all kinds of interest relations. This kind of integration does not require homogeneity of belief, culture or lifestyle. The unity achieved through homogeneity is an outmoded concept that eliminates and excludes difference and diversity, and in nationality relations, it is assimilation, and "the policy of assimilation is absolutely excluded from the arsenal of Marxism-Leninism, as being an anti-popular and counter-revolutionary policy, a fatal policy."[18] This integration means seeking uniformity amid diversity because it is the coordination of all components that share with and benefit each other. The integration under this mechanism contributes to diversity but not negates it. This integration affects the groups and entities that have already established and tend to form closer and more symbiotic relationships with each other.[19] All the components that make up the great family of the Chinese nation need

[16] Jiang Zemin (2006), p. 474.

[17] Morin and Kern (1997), p. 53.

[18] Stalin (1954b), p. 362.

[19] Cf. Laszlo (1993).

to achieve integration on the level of a state-nation in the course of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

At the same time the CPC formed the conception and practice of a harmonious society, it also advocated the concept of a harmonious world. In China, the guidance provided by the system of core socialist values has engendered a creative breeding ground for respecting cultural diversity and acceptance of cultural diversity. "History proves that wherever a hundred flowers have bloomed and a hundred ways of thinking have contended, civilization has flourished, and when people cannot get along with others with differing views and cannot cooperate with them, their civilization falls into decline."[20] The present development of human society will continue to confirm this proposition, and this is the reason that cultural diversity is gaining greater acceptance in international society by the day. Cultural diversity is embodied in human differences, and the differences in diversity constitute the cultural ecology of human independence and complementarity. The isolation, elimination and extermination of cultures are not only detrimental to the cultural ecology, but also an impediment to development and innovation. The concept of civilization underlying the building of a harmonious socialist society is a new realm in the Marxist worldview, and the concept of respecting differences and embracing diversity is a one of the core values of this kind of concept of civilization.

This is also true of political and cultural categories on a broader scale. As was discussed at the beginning of this chapter, if Eastern European countries had not been constrained by the Soviet model to forcibly to become homogenized, but rather Marxism-Leninism had been integrated with the actual conditions prevailing in those countries and those countries had explored a path of socialism suitable to their national conditions, then in the global competition between the socialist and capitalist camps, the Soviet Union might not have collapsed in 1991 taking down the socialist governments in Eastern Europe along with it. In China, the concept of "one country, two systems" put forth by Deng Xiaoping and its implementation in Hong Kong and Macao embody this new conception. Under the premise of the unity of the country, Hong Kong and Macao maintain their original social systems under which Hong Kong people rule Hong Kong and Macao people rule Macao with a high degree of autonomy. However, from the perspective of safeguarding sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, and the unity of the Chinese nation, this approach carried forward the great cause of reuniting the motherland and achieved the peaceful reunification of Hong Kong and Macao and the harmonious development of the country. The system of "one country, two systems" provides a useful paradigm for the unification of the mainland and Taiwan under the precondition that there is just one China. One China, two systems is the contemporary counterpart to the ancient conception of harmony without conformity, and it is a great new development in the areas of politics and systems. It is a new conception of civilization, both from the perspective of cultural diversity and differences and of social systems, ideologies and forms of development. Seeking unity in differences and harmony in diversity is China's basic idea for achieving the unification of the country and social harmony.

[20] Cavalli-Sforza and Cavalli-Sforza (1998), p. 344.

Therefore, the conception of harmony based on respecting differences and embracing diversity is a manifestation of a high level of political wisdom. The political wisdom of China's ancient society not only included the idea of harmony without uniformity but also embodied experience in seeking harmony within difference and diversity. The earliest uses of the term harmony in ancient texts were in connection with tonality in music, as in "The tones are harmonious and don't clash." The ancients extended the notion of harmony of tones in a metaphorical sense in which it was understood as a principle for ruling the country.[21] This passage contains important enlightenment for how we should seek harmony in difference and seek unity in diversity. Master musicians make tones harmonious to produce beautiful sound. If we consider diverse elements of society and differences within a culture as musical instruments, whether in a solo performance or the performance of an ensemble or symphony orchestra, then administrators and managers can be viewed as musicians each playing different parts that together produce harmonious music.

In terms of this metaphor Chinese communists are musicians creating a harmonious society. "Harmony unites forces to accomplish great things. Building a harmonious society is a great strategic mission of socialism with Chinese characteristics and a great test of our Party's capacity to rule." This is the great meaning of what the Decision profoundly pointed out, "The Party is the key to building a harmonious society."

## 6.2 Cultural Resource Protection for a Harmonious Society and Sound Development

The intermediate goal for China's modernization and development is to comprehensively reach the level of a moderately prosperous society together by 2020. The use of the term "comprehensively" here should be understood as having a rich connotation. However, "together" is used in its core sense in saying that the people of all China's regions and nationalities will together enjoy a level of moderate prosperity in the political, economic, cultural and social arenas and in their living environment. This means that the whole country has the capability to develop in a comprehensive, coordinated and sustainable manner, and the ability to ensure that people are put first in the course of development. Without question, this is a great objective.

### *6.2.1 Respect for Culture in a Harmonious Society*

Building a harmonious socialist society not only requires balancing the interests of all nationalities, classes and sectors of society, but also requires adopting the social attitude of respecting differences and embracing diversity. These requirements

[21] *History of the Song Dynasty* (Vol. 127), Chapter 80, Music II, Zhonghua Book Company, Beijing, 1985, p. 2971.

constitute policy and social conditions that must obtain in order to consolidate and develop socialist nationality relations of equality, unity, mutual aid and harmony, that is, the policy mechanisms for achieving coordinated development and the social conditions for inclusive development. Respect and understanding of the cultural diversity of nationalities is a basic requirement for ensuring the interests of all nationalities and their equal rights, and also a basic condition for achieving the common prosperity and development of all nationality cultures. In this regard, implementing the state's culture policy is not only an effective guarantee of policy orientation, but also a means for constraining and educating the whole of society, one of its goals is to cultivate a sense of willingly respecting others from all sectors of society and all nationalities. Understanding other cultures is the basis for respecting them.

As was stated above, in historical documents from the pre-Qin period, cultural descriptions of the peoples of the five directions, *The Classic of Rites* contains the earliest comprehensive discussion of cultural phenomena, "In all their settlements, the bodily capacities of the people are sure to be according to the sky and earthly influences, as cold or hot, dry or moist. Where the valleys are wide and the rivers large, the ground was differently laid out; and the people born in them had different customs. Their temperament, as hard or soft, light or grave, slow or rapid, were made uniform by different measures; their preference as to flavours were differently harmonized; their implements were differently made; their clothes were differently fashioned, but always suitably…. The people of the Middle states, and those of the Yi, Man, Rong and Di, all had their dwellings, where they lived at ease; their flavours which they preferred; the clothes suitable to them; their proper implements for use; and their vessels which they prepared in abundance. In these five regions, the languages of the people were not mutually intelligible, and their likings and desires were different."[22] It is not difficult for us today to understand this ancient text, and it can be said that the modern scientific understanding of cultural phenomena does not transcend the bounds of ancient thought. For example, "Cultural geography thus looks both at the forms of difference, the material culture, of groups but also at the ideas that hold them together, that make them coherent."[23] The passage, "the languages of the people were not mutually intelligible, and their likings and desires were different" refers to just this kind of ideas, and gives expression both to different senses of values and the differences between them.

Culture is one of the most complex concepts concerning human society, and there are numerous nonequivalent definitions of it. It can be said that everywhere there is human society there is culture, and culture pervades every area of human activity. From the moment of birth, people transcend their pure biological heritage acquired through prenatal education and begin the process of cultural inheritance. From an infant's first babbling to investigating and accepting everything one experiences, this whole process is one of receiving culture, and then in receiving institutionalized education and getting a job, everyone is constantly involved in receiving and transmitting culture. Of course, there are differences between levels in society

[22] *The Classic of the Rites*, James Legge translation.

[23] Krang (1998), p. 2.

because everyone can assimilate only a limited amount of cultural information and content. A kind of culture is the product of a group of people together receiving, transmitting and preserving culture.

Every person belongs to a nationality and a country, and the culture they acquire has characteristics grounded in them. Therefore, "Culture refers to the cumulative deposit of knowledge, experience, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, hierarchies, religion, notions of time, roles, spatial relations, concepts of the universe, and material objects and possessions acquired by a group of people in the course of generations through individual and group striving."[24] This kind of accumulation is expressed and transmitted through relatively fixed signals or symbols, and its content reflects different value, psychological and epistemological systems. Therefore, culture is the most complex organizational system of human society, so an anthropologist believes that "Man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning."[25] Therefore, the understanding of culture, or the understanding of a culture different from one's own, is a prerequisite for communication, mutual respect and synergetic interaction between different nationalities. This is especially important in a multi-nationality country.

Although there has been consensus in the contemporary international community on the concept of cultural diversity and its theoretical exposition for only a relatively short period of time, anthropology and related disciplines revealed this phenomenon some time ago. In China, although the pre-Qin sages recognized the cultural diversity in the peoples of the five directions, it was only the CPC that advocated respecting and developing minority nationality cultures, and it was only the People's Republic of China that formulated and adopted a large number of laws, regulations, policies and measures for developing and protecting minority cultures. Of course, the implementation of laws, regulations, policies and measures not only requires proving their effectiveness in the course of economic and social development, but also requires creating a social environment and atmosphere, and this is the broadest possible form of social identity.

Cultural diversity not only means acknowledging differences between different cultures, but also includes acknowledging the values of different cultures and their coexistence, mutual learning and common development. This is a necessary condition for mutual respect and understanding and harmonious development in cross-cultural communication and interaction. In the communication and interaction between China's nationalities, cultural factors are playing an ever-more important role in economic and social development. Especially since adopting the reform and opening up policy, interaction between regions and nationalities has become more and more intimate in the course of economic and social development, and the question of cultures adapting to each other has become more and more prominent. In the course of opening up and developing, a development trend from nationality

[24] Samovar et al. (2006).

[25] Geertz (1973), p. 5.

culture to regional culture to national culture has emerged among nationality cultures, especially minority nationality cultures. People can naturally feel this trend, but they haven't become fully aware of it yet. Therefore, as mutual relations between nationalities constantly expand and become more intimate, there still remain some issues concerning respect for and understanding of minority nationality cultures.

Due to these issues concerning knowledge of minority nationality cultures, since adopting the reform and opening up policy, a number of incidents have occurred that have affected relations between nationalities. Although the source of these problems did not lie in conscious ideas of discrimination or exclusion, disrespectful elements have appeared in accounts of adventures in so-called exotic locales, such as contempt for ideas and forms of cultural taboos, historical fabrications, the depiction of nationalities in TV programs, religious beliefs and customs. They have resulted in demonstrations, protests and lawsuits. Some publications, TV programs and cultural products and the persons responsible for them have been subject to disciplinary action for violating state policy on nationalities. Such problems occurred in part because the persons responsible did not have sufficient understanding of nationality policies and had a limited understanding of the history and present situation of nationalities, but their basic reason is that these people lacked respect for different cultures. This to a greater or lesser extent embodies a sense of the superiority of one's own culture and the psychological judgment that other cultures are backward. Although this kind of phenomena cannot be simply interpreted as a reflection of Han chauvinism, it has a far-deeper psychological effect on the feelings of minority nationalities than those who consider it a game or a performance could ever imagine.

In the 1980s as the course of reform and opening up proceeded, China became ever-more interconnected with the world. Because China's level of economic and social development was backward or traditional, when Chinese people came in contact with modern economic life, their encounter with it gave rise to problems in cultural behavioral adaptation and even psychological changes. No matter whether going abroad to Western developed countries or encountering foreigners and their culture (including cultural products), some Chinese suffered xenophilia and acquired an inferiority complex. However, the most common reaction was to be oversensitive and feel that foreigners ridiculed, belittled and scorned Chinese people, and they did not respect or understand Chinese culture, and as a result there were many cases in which such Chinese responded with indignation and adopted a nationalist mood to maintain their sense of self-respect.[26] Examining domestic nationality relations in light of such international relationships, one sees that the situation is much the same. Many of the same problems exist in the interaction between minority nationalities and mainstream society and culture. Although problems like this are generally confined to contacts between individuals, individuals' experiences and feelings all too often affect groups, and then give rise to group reactions and group memory.

[26] This includes fake political paper "China Can Say No" that was believed to reflect the Boxers' spirit in the Internet period. See Xu Jilin (2000), p. 421.

Interaction between different cultures belongs to the category of intercultural communication, and "intercultural sensitivity" is its most common and important manifestation. So-called intercultural sensitivity lies in part in the sensitivity with which one can discern cultural differences, and in part in the way one deals with them. It is easier to recognize the former because its comparative effect is more direct, but the latter is a key factor in interactions between groups with different cultures because it involves attitudes and values concerning cultural differences. Superiority and self-respect, discrimination and wariness, and similar psychological states are all manifested in such sensitivity. Therefore, intercultural sensitivity especially stresses a respecting attitude, and in intercultural exchanges, showing no respect for others and their cultural difference will often result in poorer satisfaction.[27] This kind of decrease is harmful to nationality relations in a multi-nationality country. Therefore, "We must fully respect and understand the differences in traditions, languages, cultures, customs and psychological identity that arose in the course of historical development of nationalities."[28] This is the cultural understanding the CPC has reached concerning nationality relations in building a harmonious society. This thinking is the principle underlying nationality policy, and it must become the consensus and standard of behavior for the whole Party, the whole of society and the people of all China's nationalities. This is extremely important for all nationalities to establish broader and deeper interaction in the future.

One of the important aspects of building a harmonious socialist society is to enrich and develop Chinese culture under the guidance of core socialist values. This is an important standard for achieving the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. The cultures of minority nationalities are an integral part of Chinese culture and an important source for enriching and developing Chinese culture. Therefore, promoting the enrichment and development of minority nationality cultures on the foundation of fully respecting and understanding them provides a diversity of nutrients for enriching and developing Chinese culture. As Stalin said, "[P]roletarian universal culture does not exclude, but presupposes and fosters the national culture of the peoples, just as the national culture of the peoples does not annul, but supplements and enriches universal proletarian culture."[29] Advanced socialist culture with Chinese characteristics can only take root in the soil of the traditional cultures of all China's nationalities for it to have Chinese characteristics. "Proletarian in content, national in form – such is the universal culture towards which socialism is proceeding. Proletarian culture does not abolish national culture, it gives it content. On the other hand, national culture does not abolish proletarian culture, it gives it form."[30] It is possible to achieve this goal only on the foundation of fully respecting and understanding the cultures of all nationalities, especially minority nationalities, and then using these cultures forge a common culture of the Chinese nation by refining

[27] Cf. Samovar et al. (2006).

[28] Hu Jintao (2010), p. 70.

[29] Stalin (1954a), p. 142.

[30] *Ibid.,* p. 140.

and carrying forward the outstanding components of these cultures on the basis of interacting with, absorbing and drawing upon the cultures of all nationalities.

### *6.2.2 Sound Development and Cultural Resources*

The Scientific Outlook on Development is a major theoretical summary of the CPC's experience in reform and opening up, and also the guiding thought for the path of socialist development with Chinese characteristics. The Scientific Outlook on Development is based on China's basic national conditions in the primary stage of socialism. It incorporates the results of China's economic and social development since adopting reform and opening up, absorbs and draws upon development experience from the international community, conforms to the development requirements for building a harmonious society, and sets forth major strategic thinking, and it is the basic foundation for persevering in reform and opening up and striving for long-term development. Therefore, it can be said, "The experience of many cultures, the complex web of the natural world, an understanding of human history, and lessons from the inquiry and exploration of many disciplines."[31] It is a wise concept of development.

Since the 1970s when the Club of Rome published the research report *The Limits of Growth*, and the report and the global issues it raised captured worldwide attention, scholars around the world turned their attention to development models and began searching for better ones. A consensus that was reached was that one of the primary lessons of the course on modernization in the West was "Proponents of development look at everything in terms of economics and quantity, and never consider the cultural treasures of ancient or traditional cultures."[32] A diversity of cultures is a valuable resource for the development of human society. "The experience of many cultures, the complex web of the natural world, an understanding of human history, and lessons from the inquiry and exploration of many disciplines."[33] Therefore, the path of modernization and development model of every country and nationality must be rooted in the realities of its own country, nationality and land. These realities are not limited to the country's economic foundation, development environment and natural conditions, but also include cultural factors. In China as well as the rest of the world, and in both developed and developing countries, "Issues of development are inseparable from issues of culture, civilization and ecology"[34] in the age of economic globalization. The diversity of cultures and civilizations entails the diversity of the selection of development paths and methods of development.

[31] Coleman (1994), p. 97.

[32] Morin and Kern (1997), p. 80.

[33] Coleman (1994), p. 97.

[34] Morin and Kern (1997), p. 60.

China's development goal for modernization is not to transform China into the United States or some other Western developed country, but to build a modern socialist country rooted in Eastern civilization and Chinese soil. As stated above, in carrying out economic globalization, many products of Western material, scientific and technological culture have already had a deep and universal effect on the whole of human society, and many scientific and technological results and their carriers do not need to be reinvented, though they may be improved upon. Therefore, absorbing and drawing upon these results that represent the fruits of all of human civilization are an inevitable choice of developing countries. However, absorbing and drawing upon them does not mean imitating and transplanting them but taking them as a basis for improvement and further innovation. This kind of improvement and innovation includes adapting them to the internal requirements of one's own country and nationality. These internal requirements include cultural requirements. Although culture is an extremely complex concept, every culture contains basic factors such as knowledge, wisdom, a sense of values and forms of expression. These factors are the basis of diversity between countries, between nationalities and between regions, and this diversity cannot be replaced by universal standardized cultural forms such as Coca Cola and MacDonald's.

For the many developing countries, achieving modern development not only requires "Discarding the dross of economism from the concept of development," but also requires "Breaking down and transcending the Western model of economics, civilization and culture that sets the orientation and standard for development." From this perspective, the CPC has articulated the development goal of putting people first because development "means the human race achieving genuine civilization, and it means living with understanding, unity and compassion, and without being exploited, insulted or discriminated against. That is to say, the goals of development urgently require an ethical component."[35] The neoliberal political and economic theory in the Washington Consensus, formulated by the United States government and the international economic organizations it controls in 1989 and directed at Latin America and Eastern Europe, is just this kind of dross of economism. The failure of the theory and practice of this development model not only resulted in "the economies of all Latin American countries being unable to revive,"[36] but in addition, the revolt of the Zapata National Liberation Army in Chiapas Province, Mexico, in January 1994 was "a form of open resistance to the free-trade agreement the United States forced on us."[37] The Washington Consensus was not simply a free-trade economic policy, but also a multi-faceted program for transforming economic, political and cultural systems. It was a sham economic globalization project intended to carry out aggression of Western civilization and culture. In every country, nationality and society there is a cultural force capable of resisting this kind of aggression. This is a country's soft power, which is constituted in part by the cultural heritage of its cultural, material, intellectual and ecological culture.

[35] *Ibid*., pp. 110, 115.

[36] Cf. Rojas (2006), p. 13.

[37] *Ibid*., p. 203.

In the 1990s, although the ideological confrontation eased after the end of the Cold War, cultural diversity was magnified by the "clash of civilizations" wrought by Westerners. What this magnification focused on was ideology, but this time framed in terms of Confucianism, Islam and Christianity. However, the course of globalization already made people realize that in the last decade of the twentieth century, different nationalities and societies must do more. They must not merely tolerate each other; they must also learn to exist together and improve and complement each other. This is because "the logic for interdependence makes it possible to coordinate cultural diversity. This logic can also become the basis for understanding the complementarity between different people and societies and for establishing the operational relationships of mutual benefit and assistance."[38] Of course, this is a forward-looking ideal, but it is also an inevitable prospect that Marxism sets forth for the development of human society, and the CPC is now working tirelessly to achieve it.

China's "one country, two systems" and the United States' attempt to "change the Islamic world" are examples of political civilization and political barbarism respectively. The former relies on cultural heritage to achieve the ancient Chinese ideal of harmony without uniformity, and the attitude toward civilization in the latter has its origins in the white supremacy of the colonial era. The former signifies inclusiveness and the latter signifies parochialism. The former has a harmonious society as its domestic goal and advocates a harmonious society in diplomatic affairs. The latter seeks a return of the uniformity of the "melting pot" domestically and in the international sphere seeks to westernize the world.[39] For this reason, Huntington went so far as to assert in a threatening manner, "Rejection of the Creed and of Western civilization means the end of the United States of America as we have known it. It also means effectively the end of Western civilization. If the United States is de-westernized, the West is reduced to Europe and a few lightly populated overseas European settler countries. Without the United States the West becomes a minuscule and declining part of the world's population on a small and inconsequential peninsula at the extremity of the Eurasian land mass."[40] Using this kind of alarmist language to maintain the unity of the Western world and support for United States' leadership and establish the United States' supremacy as the only superpower is the goal of *The Clash of Civilizations*. In order to eliminate this "challenge of civilizations," the United States and the Western world it represents have placed human rights above sovereignty, and used counter-terrorism, opposition to weapons of mass-destruction, humanitarian disasters, democratization and similar justifications to carry out a series of wars in Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya. One can see, "At the same time that technology that has advanced civilization, it has created a new kind of barbarism that is anonymous and dictatorial." The term "reason" does not only mean making judgments in a reasonable way, but also wishful thinking that rationalizes problems and ignores specifics and the complexity of situations.

[38] Cf. Laszlo (1993).

[39] Cf. Shiyuan (2005).

[40] Huntington (1996), pp. 306–307).

The most outstanding expression of civilization is also the most outstanding expression of barbarism."[41] This is the civilization represented by contemporary Western society and its inescapable capitalist nature.

Needless to say, Western science plays the leading role in interpreting the fruits of ancient non-Western civilizations, especially ones that have disappeared. Western science is keen on investigating and interpreting the remains of glorious civilizations that have disappeared, while at the same time Western political and economic cultures are indifferent to and sometimes scorn existing but rapidly disappearing traditional cultures that are representative of ancient civilizations. This kind of cultural strategy of highly praising modern Western civilization leads some non-Western countries to "become uncritically admiring of all things Western in their search for the key to the West's awesome 'power and wealth.'" Moreover, as modern high technology spreads Western culture throughout the world, "such 'white is beautiful' advertising inevitably reinforces Third World feelings of inferiority and self-denigration."[42] This kind of Western orientation of development and sense of inferiority leads third-world people to generally look down on their own traditional civilization and unthinkingly discard it in the course of modernizing their own country. This is just what the United States and the Western world it represents requires in spreading its political system because this is an internal motive force within third-world peoples to Westernize themselves and hence the United States and its allies can "win the war without having to fight" and hence achieve their objectives at the least cost. Therefore, when developing countries seek to take a path of modernization and stand tall in the world family of nations, the power of their own cultural resources is the heritage upon which they can ensure that they take their national conditions and realities as their basis. The Scientific Outlook on Development articulated by China in the course of its modernization not only embodies the thinking of respecting differences, embracing diversity and building a harmonious society, but also includes important content concerning establishing, developing and enriching socialist culture. The preservation, transmission, development and enrichment of the cultures of minority nationalities is an important integral component of this thinking both with regard to solving nationality questions and achieving the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

### *6.2.3 Developing and Enriching the Cultures of Minority Nationalities*

The rich cultures of China's minority nationalities not only is the source of wisdom that gives the minority nationalities their unique characteristics and provides strength for their development, but also an important component of the cultural

[41] Morin and Kern (1997), p. 95.

[42] Stavrianos (1997), pp. 123, 145.

storehouse of the Chinese nation out of which China's cultural diversity is constituted. These cultural resources are indispensable factors for creating Chinese civilization. In the western region where minority nationalities are concentrated, although economic and social development is still in an underdeveloped state, this vast region is also rich in resources due to its cultural biological diversity. In China's system of cultural policies, every nationality, no matter how large or small its population or how long or short its history, is an equal member of the large family of the Chinese nation, and cultural equality is a fundamental aspect of equality of nationalities.

Therefore, the CPC has always attached importance to the development of the cultures of minority nationalities. Moreover, recognition of this has always increased. Especially since adopting the strategy of the large-scale development of the western region, the Party and state have included the cultural development of minority nationalities in the plan for accelerating their economic and social development, and have increased support for this development in terms of financing, policies and measures. In the realm of ideas, they have set forth new requirements for preserving and developing minority nationality cultures: "Culture is an important feature of a nationality, and the cultures of minority nationalities are an important component of Chinese culture. The Party and state respect and preserve minority nationality cultures; support the transmission, development and innovation of outstanding minority nationality cultures; and encourage all minority nationality cultures to increase their cultural exchanges. They energetically develop education, science and technology, culture and sports program; constantly raise the intellectual and moral qualities, scientific, technological and cultural level of the people; and improve people's health."[43] From this height, recognizing the value of minority nationality cultures and realizing that they are an indispensable part of Chinese culture are the cultural standpoint for building a harmonious society and achieving sound development.

China is a vast land with a diversity of geographical conditions. This is the environmental foundation for generating and nourishing cultural diversity. Although minority nationalities are widely distributed throughout China, in terms of economic geography, they are relatively concentrated in the western region. Therefore, the western region is the area where cultural diversity is most prominent. The cultural diversity of minority nationalities is not limited to forms of cultural expression, but also takes on more traditional forms in their reliance on the natural geographic environment, their level of economic and social development, their traditional ways of working and living, and their religious beliefs. There is a Chinese proverb, "A particular kind of environment supports a particular kind of

[43] Decision of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council on Further Strengthening Our Work Related to Nationalities and Accelerating the Economic and Social Development of Minority Nationalities and Minority Nationality Areas, the State Ethnic Affairs Commission and the CPC Central Committee's Party Literature Research Office (eds.), *Selected Documents on Our Work Related to Nationalities* (2003–2009), Central Party Literature Publishing House, Beijing, 2010, p. 93.

people." Although this saying is a form of folk wisdom, it embodies a deep truth. The existence and development of humanity is inseparable from its dependence on the natural environment, and using all kinds of resources provided by nature to sustain one's life and procreate is a basic biological instinct. But only human beings have the intelligence to transform the environment by making innovations and inventions. However, innovating and inventing are inseparable from the geographical environment and ecological resources where people live. Thus, the Chinese saying, "If you don't live near water, you won't invent a boat." Therefore, the diversity of different nationalities' modes of development is due to people living and procreating in different natural environments, and what they create is the product of using and transforming the natural resources there. The different traditional ways of working and living of all nationalities and their different modes of development are a direct result of the unique choices they made in light of the different natural and geographical conditions they faced. Therefore, their ways of working and living, no matter how traditional they appear, all embody a cultural spirit and the light of wisdom.

However as society developed, especially as modern factors constantly became more prominent in the course of industrialization, many elements of traditional material culture such as clothing and articles used in food preparation, the home, travel and production were replaced by manufactured products. As a result, traditional manufacturing handicrafts declined or were lost. When they were lost, so were the knowledge, wisdom and social forms underlying them. Of all China's nationalities, perhaps the Han nationality lost the greatest quantity of traditional culture. However, because the population of the Han nationality is so large and has such a long history, it has the greatest accumulation of culture and considerable power of attraction, so it always constituted the main current of Chinese society and was the main exemplar of Chinese culture. Because the vast majority of minority nationalities did not have written languages and their populations were vastly smaller than the Han nationality, their cultures were relatively closed over the long course of history and the fact they were unable to absorb external influences meant they lacked the ability to maintain themselves. Therefore, these cultures were most easily lost when they came in contact with powerful modern cultures.

Of course, this kind of cultural loss is not limited to the various carriers of material culture and the crafts they spawned; even more important is the loss of languages. Language is the most important characteristic of a nationality, and it is not only a tool for people to communicate with each other but is also the most important carrier for expressing thought and transmitting culture.

Languages without a written form are limited in their ability to pass on traditional culture, spread knowledge and express thinking from one generation to the next, especially when there is no form of traditional education, so when the social and language environment changes, such languages become lost. At one time, there were more than 100,000 languages in the world, but at the turn of the twenty-first century, there were only about 6,000, and the international linguistics community estimates that by the end of this century, there will be only about 600 left. On the one hand, this is the result of the necessity of speaking a common language brought

about by the ever-increasing communication accompanying economic and social development, and on the other hand on whether the policies and practices of a country create a social and language environment in which minority nationality languages and local languages other than the country's national language are protected and preserved.

In the course of Western countries creating nation-states and undergoing modernization, virtually all of them chose this kind of policy: "[T]hey have encouraged and sometimes forced all the citizens on the territory of the state to integrate into common public institutions operating a common language. Western states have used various strategies to achieve this goal of linguistic and institutional integration: citizenship and naturalization laws, education laws, language laws, policies regarding public service employment, military service, national media, and so on." In addition, "these policies are often targeted at ethnocultural minorities."[44] Their purpose was to eliminate cultural diversity and achieve the assimilation of the country's citizens. China is not like this. From the beginning, the CPC's program for the nationality question has always stressed that the right of all nationalities to use their native language is an important aspect of the equality of nationalities. This policy has never changed and has been implemented. The purpose in creating a written language for minority nationalities that don't have one is so that their languages can be incorporated into a modern education system and be passed on. China is a country with abundant language resources, and surveys by linguists at the end of the twentieth century revealed that China (including Taiwan) has 129 languages that belong to the Sino-Tibetan, Altaic, Austronesian, Austro-Asiatic Indo-European language groups. All of them except Chinese are minority nationality languages. The survey also revealed that six of these languages had fewer than a hundred native speakers, and 15 others had fewer than a thousand native speakers, making them endangered languages in the terminology of linguistics.[45] Therefore, preserving and passing on the languages of minority nationalities is not only a nationality and cultural matter that the Party and government have always attached importance to, but also an important element of China's nationality policy and system of regional national autonomy.

Concerning policies pertaining to the economic and social development of minority nationalities and autonomous nationality areas, cultural policy in the broad sense includes two mutually related, interacting and interdependent aspects. The first is a regional aspect, which is to make a great effort to improve the social and cultural conditions in the areas where minority nationalities are concentrated, build all kinds of public service and cultural facilities, and create a local social and cultural atmosphere so that the region can gradually rise to the average level nationwide. This involves developing education, science and technology, health and sports undertakings. The second aspect is a nationality aspect, which is to make a great effort to develop and enrich the traditional cultures of minority nationalities so that they have the vitality to develop with the support of public service and local cultural

[44] Kymlicka (2001), p. 1.

[45] Cf. Sun Hongkai, Hu Zengyi and Huang Xing (2007), p. 3.

facilities. Such development should include an oral and written language education system and the use of the nationality's language in official business, the development and use of traditional medicine, the spread and demonstration of traditional sports activities, the production and guaranteed supply of special products used in the traditional customs of everyday life, support for traditional handicrafts, the nurturing and refinement of minority nationality traditional music and dance, the collection and publication of folk literature (including songs, stories and epics), safeguards for folk religious and holiday ceremonies and religious and cultural activities, and the preservation of traditional architecture and historical and cultural heritage. This conforms to the unique nature of the system of national autonomous areas – the integration of nationality and local factors.

Since adopting the policy of the large-scale development of the western region, public welfare undertakings in national autonomous areas have made great progress as the result of very considerable state investment and the active support of developed areas of the country due to the fact that all the autonomous nationality areas are in regions designated for large-scale development by the development policy. For example, in the area of education, basic education is now provided to all minority nationality children in autonomous nationality areas and higher education has been expanded. Implementation of the plan to train a core group of high-level skilled personnel from minority nationalities was begun in 2005. Universities have been designated as key institutions of higher education by the Ministry of Education on the basis of the principle of "being oriented to recruiting students, training them and placing them in jobs" recruited students from the 12 provinces in the western region, and this gradually alleviated the problem and turned around the situation in minority nationality areas in the western region of a shortage of trained personnel belonging to minority nationalities.[46] Ensuring the use of minority nationality languages while at the same time spreading the use of Chinese throughout the whole country led to the implementation of a bilingual system, which is an indispensable measure for raising the education level of minority nationalities. In the area of the media, radio and television broadcasting in minority nationality languages and the publication of newspapers, magazines and books in minority nationality languages is a prerequisite for ensuring the continuing use of minority nationality languages. At present, there are 30 publishing houses in China that publish materials in 28 different minority nationality languages; 99 newspapers published in 13 different minority nationality languages that together publish about 5 % of the country's newspaper by volume; and 223 magazines published in 10 different minority nationality languages. As telecommunications and the Internet have developed, the standardization and computerization of minority nationality languages has become a scientific and cultural project that the state attaches great importance to. Work began on coding standards for minority nationality languages in the 1980s, and in

[46] Cf. "Measures for Implementing the Plan for Training a Core Group of High-Level Skilled Personnel of Minority Nationalities," the State Ethnic Affairs Commission and the CPC Central Committee's Party Literature Research Office (eds.), *Selected Documents on Our Work Related to Nationalities* (2003–2009), pp. 110–111.

the course of the large-scale development of the western region, coding standards were formulated for many minority nationality languages, and the Mongolian, Uygur, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Tibetan, Korean, Yi, and Dai languages as well as some ancient minority nationality written languages have been standardized and computerized so that they can be used in network applications.[47] The sound development and use of minority nationality languages, including voiceprint technology and speech synthesis, and their use in cell phones and computers provide a social language environment for preserving and strengthening the vitality of minority nationality languages.

According to the investigation by the NPC Standing Committee on the implementation of the Law of the People's Republic of China on Regional National Autonomy, since the beginning of the 10th Five-Year Plan period considerable progress has been made in minority nationality cultural undertakings. The number of minority nationality cadres and professional personnel reached 2.90 million; 55 minority nationalities have members attending universities; the school enrollment rate of school-age children of 14 minority nationalities, including Korean, Manchu, Mongolian, Kazakh and Xibo, is higher than the national average; and many minority nationality areas already have a complete education system from preschool through university. At the same time, projects implemented by the state to establish a cultural corridor along 10,000 km of China's frontier and to extend radio and television reception to every village in China have achieved considerable success, and the ability to dub radio and television broadcasts in the Uygur, Tibetan and Mongolian languages and the quality of the dubbing have increased significantly. Approximately 30,000 volumes of written materials in minority nationality languages that that had been held in private hands were acquired and organized in libraries, and the organization and publication of three important epics, the Mongolian *Jiangar*, the Kyrgyz *Manas* and the Tibetan *Gesar* constituted a major cultural project. The traditional medicine of minority nationalities flourished with government support, resulting in the establishment of modern medical institutions and medicines.[48] Minority nationality artists belonging to both professional art troupes and people's organizations have created works of art displayed at national exhibits of the work of minority nationality artists, and performing artists have performed at minority nationality festivals, Spring Festival programs and on other important occasions. There are restaurants serving specialty foods and beverages of minority nationalities in all of China's major cities and many other major Asian cities, and they are very much appreciated by all kinds of people in a social environment of widespread interaction between nationalities. Traditional handicrafts and

[47] Cf. Dai Hongliang and Chen Min (2009), pp. 39–51.

[48] Cf. "Report of the Law Enforcement Inspection Team of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on the Implementation of the Law of the People's Republic of China on Regional National Autonomy," the State Ethnic Affairs Commission and the CPC Central Committee's Party Literature Research Office (eds.), *Selected Documents on Our Work Related to Nationalities* (2003–2009), Central Party Literature Publishing House, Beijing, 2010, pp. 176–183.

clothing of minority nationalities are not only cultural souvenirs that are widely appreciated and bought as collectables, but moreover they are rich cultural elements that reach out to the world and constitute a source of wisdom that others use as inspiration for their art works and clothing designs.

The preservation of the outstanding culture of minority nationalities is also an important aspect of the state's cultural policy. It follows the principle of focusing on preservation, giving primacy to rescue, using cultural heritage in a reasonable way, and passing on and developing it in the course of constantly deepening the implementation of cultural preservation projects. Since beginning to carry out projects to protect the intangible cultural heritage in 2003, in the two lists of national-level cultural heritage numbering 1,028 items issued by the State Council, 367 items constituting 35.7 % of the total pertain to minority nationality culture and include folk music, oral literature, music and dance in the area of the arts, as well as medicine, traditional handicrafts, clothing, folk ceremonies and architecture.[49] This shows that minority nationalities, which comprise only 9 % of China's population, are important carriers of cultural diversity. The ministry of culture has published a list of 1,488 people as propagators of intangible cultural heritage, and 393, or 26 % of them are members of minority nationalities. Not only have these propagators of culture personally received the recognition and protection of the state, but also the state has provided them funding to carry out cultural transmission activities, so that their cultural knowledge can be disseminated, passed on and developed. In 2007 and 2008, state cultural agencies established four cultural ecology preservation experimental zones in various parts of the country, including one each to the Regong and Qiang minority nationality cultures. The intangible culture heritage projects carried out by the state have effectively spurred the work of comprehensively protecting the intangible cultural heritage of minority nationalities. At the same time, elements of the intangible cultural heritage of minority nationalities constitute a significant proportion of the items receiving state protection. This is a reflection of the fact that in the course of modernization, minority nationality culture is more easily lost, so the state pays particular attention to it, and guarantees the transmission and development of this cultural treasure through government policies and measures.

An important step if formulating state policies for accelerating the development of minority nationalities, the economic and social development of areas where they are concentrated, and all kinds of undertakings there was the inclusion for the first time of planning for projects concerning minority nationalities as a separate item in the 11th Five-Year Plan. The 11th Five-Year Plan for Minority Nationality Development included projects for alleviating the poverty of minority nationality groups in destitute areas, supporting basic education of minority nationalities, building minority nationality universities, developing minority nationality traditional medicine, fostering overseas exchanges and cooperation of minority nationalities, informationizing administration of minority nationality affairs, carrying out surveys

[49] Notice of the State Council on Announcing the List of National Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Second Batch of Submissions and the Expanded List of National Intangible Cultural Heritage in the First Batch of Submissions, June 7, 2008. Cf. http://www.ihchina.cn/inc/guohiamingluer.jsp.

of the current state on minority nationalities, and establishing a system of services for minority nationality affairs.[50] This shows the great attention and support the state gives to minority nationality development. In order to effectively ensure the flourishing and development of minority nationality cultures, in 2009 the Chinese government promulgated the Guidelines of the State Council for Promoting the Further Flourishing and Development of Minority Nationality Cultures which set forth the basic policy of "adhering to the orientation of serving the people and serving socialism and the policy of letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend; respecting differences and embracing diversity; inheriting, preserving and carrying forward minority nationality culture; getting minority nationality cultures to learn from each other, increase exchanges and develop in harmony; steadfastly being oriented to modernization, the world and the future; grasping underlying laws; maintaining minority nationalities' national flavor while reflecting the times; carrying our reform and innovation of minority nationality cultures, and emancipating and developing the productive forces of minority nationality cultures."[51] The guidelines proposed the following tasks, policies and measures: accelerating the public cultural infrastructure of minority nationalities and minority nationality areas, fostering the flourishing and development of the news and publishing industries of minority nationalities, greatly developing the minority nationality radio and television broadcasting industries, providing more support to minority nationality performing arts troupes and museums, energetically carrying out mass cultural activities for minority nationalities, intensifying the excavation and protection of minority nationality cultural heritage sites, respecting, inheriting and transmitting the outstanding traditional culture of minority nationalities, greatly encouraging minority nationality cultural innovation, actively spurring the development of minority nationality culture industries, strengthening cultural development of minority border areas, and energetically fostering overseas exchanges and cooperation of minority nationalities.

In the practice of inheriting, transmitting and developing minority nationality culture, minority nationality cultural tourism has already become an important cultural industry for stimulating cultural vitality, revealing the charm of minority nationality cultures, and expanding the influence of minority nationality cultures. Autonomous regions and provinces with a large number of minority nationalities all take the minority nationality cultural resources of their locality as their symbol in establishing cultural regions (provinces). Of all the industries in minority nationality areas, tourism has developed the fastest and made the greatest profits. Their unique cultural and environmental landscape are important cultural and ecological tourism resources for attracting domestic and foreign tourists. The large-scale

[50] 11th 5-Year Plan for Minority Nationality Development, the State Ethnic Affairs Commission and the CPC Central Committee's Party Literature Research Office (eds.), *Selected Documents on Our Work Related to Nationalities* (2003–2009), Central Party Literature Publishing House, Beijing, 2010, pp. 2230–2235.

[51] Guidelines of the State Council on Further Developing the Culture of Minority Nationalities, *ibid.,* p. 343.

development of the tourism industry has spurred the development of a number of associated service industries, such as transportation, telecommunications, hotels, restaurants, and handicrafts, thereby opening up broad avenues for starting business and creating jobs. Many farming and herding households have carved out a niche for themselves by providing unique services to tourists and thereby taken a new path and increased their income. Tourism is one of the most important sources of income for national autonomous areas. For example, just considering international tourism, Yunnan earned US$ 1.172 billion from tourism in 2009, $833 million more than in 2000, and ranked tenth nationally in foreign tourism earnings. That same year Guangxi earned US$643 million from foreign tourism, an increase of $336 million over 2000, and ranked 13th nationally. Also in 2009, Inner Mongolia earned $558 million, an increase of $432 million over 2000, and ranked 16th nationally.[52] This shows that these provinces, which rank low in overall economic and social development, have advantages that make their tourism industries among the strongest in China.

As a result of protecting, transmitting and developing minority nationality cultures and bringing prosperity to minority nationalities the Party and government have made a fuller exposition of the great importance of getting minority nationality culture to develop and flourish from the vantage point of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation: "Culture is an important feature of a nationality, and an important source of a nationality's vitality, cohesiveness and creativity. Minority nationality cultures are an important constituent part of Chinese culture and a common spiritual treasure of the whole Chinese nation. Over the long course of historical development, all of China's nationalities created their own unique and rich national culture. The mutual influence and intermingling of the cultures of all our nationalities increased the vitality and creativity of the Chinese culture and constantly enriched and developed the content of the Chinese culture, and raised the sense of cultural identity and cohesion of the Chinese nation. All of China's nationalities have made their contribution to the development and progress of Chinese culture."[53] This has far-reaching and important guiding significance for the development and flourishing of minority nationality culture.

The development and flourishing of minority nationality culture has already made significant achievements; however in the course of carrying out the second 10-year stage of the strategy of the large-scale development of the western region and in the course of leapfrog economic and social development, the pace at which minority nationality culture is lost will probably increase. Therefore, the task of protecting and developing minority nationality culture is no less important than carrying out economic and social development. As economic and social development and urbanization progress and contacts between nationalities increase, issues

[52] National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China (2010), p. 728.

[53] Guidelines of the State Council on Further Developing the Culture of Minority Nationalities, the State Ethnic Affairs Commission and the CPC Central Committee's Party Literature Research Office (eds.), *Selected Documents on Our Work Related to Nationalities* (2003–2009), Central Party Literature Publishing House, Beijing, 2010, p. 341.

concerning cultural adaptation, transmission and development will become more prominent and become a new interface of the nationality question, and they will go hand in hand with issues concerning the ecological environment.

## 6.3 The Symbiotic Sound Development of Humanity and the Ecological Environment

Since the advent of reform and opening up, the pace and successes of China's economic and social development have attracted worldwide attention, and have been accompanied by the disappearance of traditional culture and degradation of the ecological environment. As the pace of economic and social development in the western region increases, these problems will only get worse. Under the guidance of the Scientific Outlook on Development, we are building a harmonious society that meets the requirements of coordinating people and society, people and culture and people and the natural environment in the course of development; transforming the mode of economic growth; cultivating ecological awareness among the people; and achieving coordinated development. This thoroughly implements the imperatives inherent in the Scientific Outlook on Development and addresses issues that the rapid development of the western region requires us to give prominence to.

### *6.3.1 Biodiversity and the Ecological Crisis in the Western Region*

The term biodiversity first appeared in the 1980s. The Convention on Biological Diversity gives the following definition, " 'Biological diversity' means the variability among living organisms from all sources including, inter alia, terrestrial, marine and other aquatic ecosystems and the ecological complexes of which they are a part; this includes diversity within species, between species and of ecosystems."[54] Biodiversity pertains to animals, plants and microorganisms as well as their genes and living environment. China is a country with considerable ecosystem diversity. It has the third largest variety of plant species in the world and half of them are unique to China. In addition, China's mammals, birds and fish species are each one eighth of the world's total, and China is one of the world's centers for cultivating genetic variants of crops.[55] Therefore, China's biodiversity resources not only are advantageous for China to achieve the coordinated development of man and nature, but they also have a very important effect on the global environment and the whole of human society.

[54] Secretary General of the United Nations (1992).

[55] Cf. China Council for International Cooperation on Environment and Development (1997), p. 3.

The western region has the greatest biodiversity resources of all China's regions. Its unique natural geography and diverse climate, and its forests, grasslands, deserts, prairies, glaciers, wetlands, water system and rivers provide the conditions for a diverse ecosystem that has many unique and rare species. These natural resources are a great treasure of China's and a natural foundation for sustainable development. Therefore, protecting the western region's biodiversity resources is a major task of long-term strategic significance.

Globally, consensus on the importance of preserving biodiversity has grown at the same time the pace of species extinction has accelerated and ecological imbalances have arisen. The disappearance of biodiversity is a prominent yet hidden feature of degradation of the ecological environment. The missing links in the food chain and its breakdown resulting from the loss of equilibrium between species and the extinction of species in the natural environment and ecosystem inexorably give rise to a mechanical chain reaction that results in irreversible environmental changes. Therefore, biodiversity is a basic decisive factor of the natural environment. In a certain sense soil erosion, grassland degradation and desertification are the major causes of the loss of biodiversity other than the role of pollution.

However, at present we lack sufficient understanding of the relation between biodiversity and the ecological environment. In the course of exploiting biological resources and even excessively exploiting natural resources to meet the material demands of society at a given time, people do not realize "People's lives are inseparable from other living things. The countless species of plants, animals and microorganisms in the world provide indispensable food, fiber, lumber, pharmaceuticals and industrial raw materials. The interaction of organisms with their physical environment creates the ecosystem regulates the energy flow of our globe and ensures the circulation of matter and hence affects the atmosphere and gas concentration, determines the quality of soil and controls hydrological conditions. In short, the complexity and diversity of organisms and the biodiversity they give rise to and the physical environment in which they exist constitute the life support system on which human life depends. In addition, the great variety of life forms brings beauty to our lives and these life forms are a source of artistic creation and scientific discovery. Most of the functions of organisms cannot be replaced by other objects. We are at a point in our historical development when we are transforming the face of the world at an unprecedented speed. On the one hand this enables us to create material wealth on an unprecedented scale, and on the other hand we are greatly changing the living environment of other species, and thereby constantly decreasing biodiversity and driving large numbers of species to the point of extinction. The foundation for human life is slowly crumbling."[56] Of course, this is not being alarmist. This is a global phenomenon, and China is no exception to it.

Since the adoption of reform and opening up, China's enormous population and rapid economic and social development have made tremendous demands on natural resources, with the result that the sustainable use of biological diversity resources faces a serious threat. Especially in the course of economic and social development,

[56] State Environmental Protection Agency (1997), p. 1.

the interaction between people and the natural environment is constantly intensifying, and instances of excessive exploitation and use of natural resources have occurred. This together with the effects of global warming make the issue of China's ecological environment an ever-more pressing issue, one of the most pressing aspects of which is the deterioration of China's excellent biodiversity resources. Excessive harvesting of lumber is greatly shrinking our forests and leaving them fragmented and dispersed; over-grazing of grasslands is degrading theme severely; the indiscriminate hunting of rare fur-bearing animals and the harvesting of valuable medicinal plants are driving them to the point of extinction; and the oceans are being over-fished to the point of greatly reducing stocks. Adding in the impact of incessant mining activities, environmental pollution and the invasion of foreign species, and the result is a sharp decrease of biodiversity, with many species becoming extinct and the list of endangered species becoming longer by the day, with no end in sight.

For example, in June 2005, the Qinghai Province EPA published a report on the problem of preserving biodiversity, in which it reiterated, "The area of grassland plant degradation, wetlands contraction and land desertification has increased and this has led to a worsening of the living environment of wild plants and animals and the contraction of their ranges. Also the excessive hunting of wild animals and harvesting of medicinal insects and plants has greatly decreased the populations of plant and animal species unique to the Tibet-Qinghai Plateau and driving some of them to the point of extinction. Approximately 15 %–20 % of the provinces' species are endangered, a percentage that is significantly higher that the world average of 10 %–15 %."[57] Therefore, since the beginning of the twenty-first century, Qinghai Province has become a hot spot for research on ecological protection by both Chinese and foreign scholars, not only because of its great diversity of animal and plant species, but also because its biodiversity is under heavy threat.

China's Scientific Outlook on Development is an outlook that puts people first and calls for the coordinated sustainable development of man and nature. Comprehensive coordination and sustainability indicate that the development it calls for is not a purely economic, technological and digital development, but rather development of people, including groups of people, with the development of nations and states at its core, and it embodies an outlook on the development of civilization that gives consideration to sustainable development based on the positive interaction of man and nature. This "entails meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to do so."[58] This is one kind of outlook on sustainable development that some Western scholars take exception to, "At its core, this model pits the growth of humankind against the environment, directly blaming human prosperity for the problem of environmental degradation…. According to this model, in order to eradicate the harmful effects of human activity, the species would have to reduce its total use of resources by 80 percent…. In other

[57] Qinghai Province Has More Threatened Species than the World Average. From http://www.qhnews.com/, June 27, 2005, or at http://www.sina.com.cn.

[58] Coleman (1994), p. 106.

words, the sustainable development requires that the world forever live below the standards of 1990 America."[59]

The main development principle set forth by this viewpoint is "progress without regression." Its proponents think that environmental damage should be allowed to occur in the early stages of economic growth and then be cleaned up in later stages of economic prosperity. However, there is a whole series of habitats that cannot be restored due to the extinction of plant and animal species, the damage done to the natural ecosphere, and the rupturing of the food chain. They cannot be recreated like Jurassic Park in the movies or created like a virtual world on a computer. Perhaps the ultra-fast development Western countries, which comprise 25 % of the world's population but consume 75 % of its energy resources, have undergone in order to "seize the future" proves "The fact that progress itself leads to new definitions of human growth also explains the West's faith in progress. Our accomplishments consistently exceed our wildest dreams."[60] However, it is impossible to solve the problem that "the third world not only suffers economic exploitation at the hands of the developed world, but has no alternative but to endure the blindness and narrow-mindedness of the developed world as well as spiritual and intellectual underdevelopment."[61] In fact this kind of spiritual and intellectual underdevelopment denigrates the significance of non-Western civilization and its traditional culture and uses its own economic and technological achievements as evidence of the preeminence of the source of its strength – Western civilization and culture.

All of our country's minority nationalities, no matter whether they engage in mountain farming, irrigation farming, herding or forest hunting, have primitive knowledge suited to their circumstances concerning economic activities and maintaining ecological equilibrium. This traditional wisdom and the sense of values it embodies is a source of knowledge that cannot be ignored in enriching the Scientific Outlook on Development and putting it into practice. The exploration, arranging and refinement of this knowledge is not only a basic requirement for the preservation and use of the two kinds of resources embodied in cultural and biological diversity, but also a necessary condition for respecting knowledge, arousing social vitality and fostering creativity. History proves, "The pollution of a Semang band practicing slash-and-burn agriculture is qualitatively – and conceptually – different from that of 5 billion humans deploying their high technology. The Semang have no reason to reflect on what effect they may be having on their river or their forest. Such 'complacency' was understandable in premodern times but is vanishing as a viable option in a world where rivers, even oceans, can be turned into the equivalent of industrial sewers and waste-disposal dumps."[62] Sadly, this kind of loss is due to either not preserving or insufficiently preserving past culture and this happens because people negate its value.

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[59] Zey (1998), pp. 42, 44.

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[61] Morin and Kern (1997), p. 60.

[62] Stavrianos (1990), p. 38.

In China's western region, a large proportion of the population is engaged in farming or herding. Herding thrives on the thinly populated vast prairies of the region, and the herders there arrange their lives and work in accordance with age-old traditions. They face severe problems in the areas of education, elderly care, medical treatment, public health, transportation, and the supply of water and electricity. However, this ancient method of nomadic herding contains traditional knowledge of rotational grazing and rehabilitation of grasslands and is a dynamic model for maintaining equilibrium between humans, livestock and grasslands. However, from the perspective of settlement living, the nomadic lifestyle is clearly viewed as primitive and backward. Consequently, we have paid the price of turning grasslands into wastelands that cannot support either farming or grazing. The phenomenon of over-grazing has become widespread as reforms have been carried out in the management system of the farming and herding industry, in which pastures have been turned over to households that raise their own herds; herders have increased the size of their herds in the pursuit of greater profits; and the price of livestock products, especially wool, have soared. In addition, the high profits to be reaped from collecting hair weeds and Chinese caterpillar funguses has led to a great influx of refugees stripping patches of grasslands of their foliage, leaving the grasslands pockmarked with holes. In addition, there is a constant stream of people into the grasslands who set up small iron, gold or coal mines, turning degraded grasslands into wasteland. In 2006 Hui Liangyu, the Chinese vice premier in charge of agriculture, stated, "Our country's total pastureland is 4.26 million square kilometre, and it has a population of 50.52 million, most of whom are members of minority nationalities. For a variety of reasons, there are many problems facing the development of pastoral areas. These problems are primarily manifested in backward forms of production, poor production conditions and a bad living environment. Ninety percent of our pastureland has deteriorated and 50% of it has suffered desertification or salinization. The development of pastoral areas affects national unity, social harmony and border stability."[63] Facts show that the continuing deterioration of pasturelands has an enormous and ever-increasing effect on the lives of herders; leads to clashes between herders and miners; and affects national unity, social harmony and border stability.

Therefore, in accelerating the economic and social development of the western region, we cannot simply measure development in terms of GDP and other economic indexes. The problems of preserving, utilizing and exploiting human and ecological resources in the economic and social development of the western region, especially minority nationality areas, are becoming ever-more numerous and severe, and the cultural and ecological problems economic and social development encounter are becoming ever-more prominent. Therefore, in the course of the rapid, leapfrog development of the western region, considering the particular nature of the cultural characteristics and ecological conditions of minority nationality areas, it is an urgent and heavy task to change the mode of economic development.

[63] Hui Liangyu (2010), p. 168.

### *6.3.2 Sound Development and Ecological Awareness*

Improving ecological awareness is an important component of China's modernization and an important aspect of the Scientific Outlook on Development. The development requirements set forth in the Scientific Outlook on Development and the actual condition in China in the primary stage of socialism that provides its foundation are not based on self-deprecation and a sense of resignation, or on an unrealistic impatience to succeed; rather they fully take China's actual conditions and the requirement of uniting the people of all China's minority nationalities to struggle for common prosperity and development as their starting point, and on that basis build socialist modernization with Chinese characteristics. What is unique about this socialist modernization is that it highlights China's actual culture in the broadest sense, including its political, economic and social culture. The statement, "The issue of development directly concerns the issues of culture, civilization and ecology" implies "The guiding ideological foundation of development includes the great paradigms of Western progress," and the advanced technology of Western advanced countries and the living conditions they bring with them generally constitute the goal of modern development. However, "This kind of technological and economic outlook ignores completely the issues of uniqueness, community, interrelations and culture of human beings. Therefore, this conception of development remains at the stage of severe underdevelopment."[64] Blindly sacrificing everything for development creates ever more problems for human society. The conception of sustainable development that emphasizes the relation between human beings and nature and maintaining ecological equilibrium has been put forth in this situation, and it is an important aspect of the Scientific Outlook on Development.

Since the 1990s, a number of global problems have widely attracted the attention of the international community, and the problem of the ecological environment is one of the most prominent of them. Of the many issues that pertain to the ecological environment, preserving biodiversity is one of the most important. At the Global Environment and Development Summit held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, 156 countries and the European Union signed the Convention on Biological Diversity, whose purpose is to preserve the world's habitats, species and genes; implement a development model for the sustainable use of resources; and ensure that our planet and the countries and regions in it can fairly and reasonably enjoy the benefits biodiversity confers on humanity by means of policy, economic and administrative adjustments and reforms. In October of that year China was one of the first six countries to ratify the convention.

International practices show that establishing nature reserves is the most important measure in preserving biodiversity. The Chinese government promulgated the Regulations of the People's Republic of China on Nature Reserves in 1994 and the China Nature Reserve Development Plan (1996–2010) in 1996. The latter states, "2001–2010: The development objective is for the total number of nature reserves

[64] Morin and Kern (1997), p. 60.

to reach approximately 1,200 (of which 160–170 are national-level reserves), and the area they cover to encompass approximately 10% of the country's land."[65] In fact, since implementing the strategy of developing the western region, the pace of implementing the plan for protecting the ecological environment, which has establishing nature reserves as its foundation, has accelerated throughout the country. As of the end of 2007, the Chinese mainland had more than 2,000 nature reserves of various kinds and levels, 303 of which were national-level nature reserves, and China's nature reserves covered 15 % of the country's land. All these figures greatly exceed the target set forth in the plan. More than half the 303 national-level nature reserves are in the western region, and the western region ranks first in both the variety and total area of nature-reserves. The western region, especially minority nationality areas, is the most important part of China for protecting biodiversity. Development of nature reserves in the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau has been particularly robust. The Qinghai Lake Nature Reserve, Hoh Xil Nature Reserve and Three Rivers Nature Reserve include areas devoted to wetlands, waterfowl, fish, animals, water resources, grasslands and glaciers, and they are all key areas of the country's state-level ecological development. The state is using methods such as returning farmlands to forests and banning grazing on some grasslands to let areas under stress recuperate and revive, and it uses such methods as population relocation to decrease human activities in ecological zones. In these areas, China not only widely draws on the experience of advanced countries but also constantly seeks to carry out international cooperation. In 2009, the number of national-level nature reserves reached 319. This shows that China has already achieved outstanding successes in the areas of establishing and managing nature reserves and preserving biodiversity. At the same time, it shows that our country's biodiversity is under serious threat.

In the wake of the adoption and implementation of the Scientific Outlook on Development, the whole of society has come to realize the need to promote the coordinated development of the economy, society and the environment, with the result that governments at all levels and people throughout society are more and more realizing the importance of preserving biodiversity. The Party and government made a series of strategic arrangements for accelerating ecological protection and environmental governance in the western region, and launched a series of major projects on that basis. The Three-River Sources Area contains the country's natural wetlands having the largest area and highest altitude, and the Three-River Sources Nature Reserve has the greatest biodiversity in a concentrated area of any high-altitude region in the world.[66] The Three-River Sources Area is a part of the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau, and its unique geographical environment and climatic conditions have an important influence on the atmospheric circulation of not only China, but

[65] China Nature Reserve Development Plan (1996–2010), issued by the State Environmental Protection Agency and the State Planning Commission on November 24, 1997, with the approval of the State Council.

[66] The Three-River Sources Area is the source of 49 % of the total water flow of the Yellow River, 25 % of the total flow of the Yangtze River, and 15 % of the total flow of the Lancang River, and so it is called China's water tower.

also East Asia and the whole northern hemisphere. Due to natural and human factors, the problems of grassland desertification, wetlands contraction, glacier melting and lakes drying up have arisen in the area. The Chinese government launched the Three-River Sources Ecological Protection Project in 2005, with plans for spending 7.5 billion RMB to preserve and rehabilitate the ecological environment there.

In recent years, outstanding success has already been obtained by taking such measures as banning grazing on grasslands and logging on mountains, carrying out water conservation, controlling desertification and relocating populations. These environmental preservation and rehabilitation measures are being widely carried out in all provinces and autonomous regions in the western region, and ecological engineering has already become the most important kind of development project in the strategic development of the western region. In 2009, the State Council adopted the Tibet Ecological Security Barrier Construction Plan, which calls for spending 15.5 billion yuan on ten kinds of ecological environment protection projects: grasslands preservation, forest fire prevention and pest control, wildlife preservation and establishment of wildlife protected areas, wetlands preservation, energy substitution in farming and pastoral areas, establishing a shelterbelt system, planting grasslands and improving natural grasslands, preventing and reversing desertification, controlling erosion, and ecological security barrier monitoring. The plan calls for basically completing the construction of the ecological security barrier by 2030. As of now, the government has already spent 2.5 billion on this work.

In 2005, the government promulgated the 12th Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development, which sets forth the basic outline of China's ecological security strategy: "We will strengthen the protection and management of key ecological function areas; improve our ability to conserve water sources, maintain water and soil resources, and prevent sandstorms; protect biodiversity; and construct a strategic ecological safety structure consisting of designated areas where development is prohibited dotted across the country, with the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau ecological barrier, Loess Plateau-Sichuan-Yunnan ecological barrier, northeast China forest belt, northern China sand prevention belt, and southern hills and mountain belt and major river systems as the framework, and other key national ecological function areas acting as important supports."[67] In the plan, ecological preservation and restoration projects are concentrated in the western region. It can be seen that the economic and social development of the western region and the modernization of minority nationality areas, as well as all the social factors involved in solving China's nationality problem contain very complex and unique components, and they involve important cultural and ecological factors that are intertwined and influence each other. The cultures of minority nationalities are intimately related to their natural and geographical environments, and any cultural changes that occur in their production and lifestyle will bring about changes in the ecological environment. Changes in the ecological environment will likewise bring about cultural changes.

[67] *The 12th Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development of the People's Republic of China*, People's Publishing House, Beijing, 2011, pp. 72–73.

And such changes are rapidly appearing as farming is returned to forests, grazing land is returned to grassland and the pace of urbanization increases.

### *6.3.3 Development Problems Still Awaiting Solution*

As the pace of economic and social development and preservation of the ecological environment increases, a dilemma generally appears, and it is particularly prominent in the western region. In China's index of sustainable development, a unique phenomenon can be seen in the list of the regions' environmental level of China's 31 provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government.

In the list of regions' environmental level, the provinces (autonomous regions) in the western region are ranked as follows: Tibet (1), Qinghai (3) Yunnan (4), Xinjiang (5), Gansu (6), Sichuan (9), Guizhou (13), Inner Mongolia (19), Guangxi (21), and Ningxia (27). In terms of the index of sustainable development, the areas where minority nationalities live are clearly in a superior position. However, this index places heavy emphasis on industrial emissions and air pollution. On the one hand this indicates that the western region has the best overall environmental quality in the country, but on the other hand it is the least industrialized.

However, if we use another standard to measure sustainable development, the situation appears very differently.

In the list of regions' ecological level, the provinces (autonomous regions) in the western region are ranked as follows: Ningxia (31), Gansu (30), Xinjiang (29), Qinghai (28), Inner Mongolia (27), Sichuan (21), Yunnan (20), Tibet (16), Guangxi (12) and Guizhou (11). The ecological index includes ecological fragility, climate variability and soil erosion among its parameters, and most of the areas where minority nationalities are concentrated have these problems to a considerable degree.

In the list of regions' environmental resilience, the provinces (autonomous regions) in the western region are ranked as follows: Tibet (31), Xinjiang (25), Guangxi (20), Ningxia (15), Inner Mongolia (14), Guizhou (10), Qinghai (9), Sichuan (6), Yunnan (3) and Gansu (2). This index indicates a region's restorative capability and combines measures of environmental governance and ecological protection, and the western region again is in an inferior position.[68]

The question of how to accelerate industrialization while ensuring coordinated development of man and nature in these places with low environmental resilience is unquestionably a major problem the western region faces in building a society that is both moderately prosperous and harmonious.

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[68] Cf. the Sustainable Development Strategy Research Team of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, "Report on China's Sustainable Development Strategy in 2010: Green Development and Innovation," Science Press, 2010, Beijing, pp. 308–310.

If one says that in early times the development of human society was influenced by environmental determinism, then today when our ability to transform the objective world is constantly increasing, "the theme of environmental determinism has been largely replaced by the emergence of man-environmental models."[69] This kind of model is one in which man and nature interact, and a steady stream of phenomena abundantly show that increases in man's ability to interfere with nature increases are directly proportional to increases in the demand for natural resources and nature's punishment of man and to the exhaustion of supplies of natural resources. This is a detrimental interaction. Therefore, the scientific outlook on sustainable development states we should seek a kind of development model of positive interaction between man and nature in which interaction is circular. This requires a new kind of exploration that involves a new understanding and re-creation with respect to a whole series of issues related to the outlook and model of development and to development experience.

In addition, the influence of ecological issues on human society is not limited to judging indexes concerning the natural environment and economic development, but also affects people's sense of values, social justice and social stability, and even national security. Research on these issues shows, a country's national security "relates increasingly to watersheds, croplands, forests, genetic resources, climate, and other factors rarely considered by military experts and political leaders."[70] Because ecological issues give rise to problems such as disputes over resources and environmental refugees in numerous places around the globe, they have already become an important means external hostile forces use to fabricate international public opinion and inflame nationality relations. Therefore, in the strategic course of implementing the large-scale development of the western region, steadfastly implementing the Scientific Outlook on Development affects not only the basic interests of the people of all nationalities in the western region, but also the overall situation of creating a harmonious society.

Our country's reform and opening up has already entered an important period of strategic opportunity. This is a stage full of development opportunities together with many challenges and social risks. For a country like ours, with great disparities in development between urban and rural areas and between regions and with a large population and a low level of resources per capita, economic and social development faces many prominent difficulties, and the tasks of reducing disparities between regions and coordinating economic and social development are particularly difficult. In this regard, the disparity in the level of economic and social development between the eastern and western regions, especially the disparity between minority nationality areas in the west and the eastern region is the most prominent problem. For example, in 2009, the per capita disposable income of rural residents in the western region was 3,816 yuan, 3,340 yuan less than the eastern region, 1,641 less than the northeast and 977 less than the central region, and considerably less than the national average of 5,153. The per capita disposable income of urban resi-

[69] Hardesty (1977), p. 3.

[70] Myers (1993), p. 21.

dents in the western region was 14,213 yuan, which was not significantly lower than the central region and the northeast, but was 6,740 less than the eastern region and considerably less than the national average of 17,175.[71] This situation requires achieving rapid economic and social development under the guidance of the Scientific Outlook on Development while preserving the ecological environment. At the same time, new problems appear concerning human development in carrying out ecological protection projects and related measures. In the course of returning farmland to forests, banning grazing on grasslands and carrying out other major ecological protection projects, one major method used is that of ecological migration, which primarily involves moving nomadic herders into fixed abodes and placing farmers and herders into nonagricultural work. This is still in the initial stages, and it faces the problem of providing jobs for those displaced and exacerbates the loss of traditional culture.

Accelerating economic and social development entails accelerating urbanization. However, the level of urbanization in the western region, especially areas where minority nationalities are concentrated, is lower than the national average, and at present, cities are small, have poor infrastructure and weak market cohesion, and are unable to absorb many new workers. The total population of China's minority nationality areas is 184 million, 13.8 % of the country's total. This area contains 31 prefecture-level cities, 30 autonomous prefectures, 65 county-level cities, and 120 autonomous counties (banners), which average out to 9.8 % of administrative divisions of the same type for the country as a whole.[72] In the country's five autonomous regions, there are 14 prefecture-level cities in Guangxi, 9 in Inner Mongolia, 5 in Ningxia, 2 in Xinjiang and 1 in Tibet. Since the beginning of the large-scale development of the western region, these central cities have grown considerably and their infrastructure has improved greatly. However, considering the regions' level of economic development and the demands placed on them for accelerating development in the future, the number and size of these cities and their market capacity, flow capacity, radiative function and social security provisions cannot meet the needs concerning population movement and job placement for the influx of farmers and herdsmen moving to cities that rapid development requires.

In the course of the rapid development, even leapfrog development, of the western region over the next 10 years, areas where minority nationalities are concentrated will experience an unprecedented tide of population movement: first, local farmers and herdsmen moving into cities; second, migrant workers from other parts of the country moving into these areas; and third, minority nationality farmers and herders moving to the eastern region and other parts of the country. The orientation of all three kinds of movement is from the countryside into cities, which means migrants will need to find work and make living arrangement in those cities. Therefore, accelerating development towns and cities in the western region, especially minority nationality areas, is one of the basic conditions for the rapid, even leapfrog, development of the region. Resource exploitation, returning farmland to

[71] National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China (2010), p. 21.

[72] National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China (2010), pp. 19–23.

forests, banning grazing on grasslands ecological protection, public works and large-scale infrastructure projects all are involved in farmers and herders moving from the countryside to the cities and are relevant to urbanization and the pressure of providing employment and proper living conditions for new urban arrivals.

In China, urbanization provides a new model of people from different nationalities living together because a city cannot be made up of members of just one nationality. Also an urban environment is an interactive arena where people from different strata of society live in close quarters and have diverse roles in society. In addition, there are conspicuous differences be the housing conditions, occupational characteristics, income level and standard of living among a city's residents. All this reflects individuals' ability to adapt to the competition of urban life, especially in the areas of education, career and work skills, and differences between individuals reflect not only class distinctions but also ethnic distinctions. These differences create inequalities between classes and between nationalities, and they raise questions concerning fairness, justice and ethnic equality that cannot be ignored.

In the course of the urbanization of the western region and areas where minority nationalities are concentrated, unique problems arise concerning relations between minority nationalities. When farmers and herdsmen of minority nationalities move to cities, including cities in the interior and the eastern region, they not only face problems of finding work, but also face problems concerning language, living habits and religious beliefs. At the same time, urbanization transforms the situation in which people of the same nationality live together. In an urban environment, the ties between people from different nationalities are becoming increasingly rooted in society as a whole and personal for the benefit of their daily life. This kind of situation makes it easy for friction and disputes to arise between people of different nationalities, but it also creates the social conditions for mutual respect, understanding and help to arise between nationalities, which lead to harmonious social relations. This not only requires national and local governments to provide policy assurances, but also requires the whole of society to carry out broad and thorough education so that a positive social environment is created for the healthy development of nationality relations in the course of urbanization.

The sixth national census has already been completed, and it reveals a new pattern in the mingling of nationalities and a new distribution of China's nationalities. In 1990, Beijing was the only province, autonomous region or municipality directly under the central government that had members of all 56 nationalities among its population. The fifth national census in 2000 revealed that that number had increased to 18. It can be predicted that by 2010 all the provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government have members of at least 50 nationalities among their populations, and most of them have all 56. In the course of China's development, the people of all China's nationalities mingle more and more and the people of every nationality become more dispersed. This trend shows no sign of slowing down, and it is an inevitable process in the people of all nationalities uniting together and prospering and developing together that is occurring throughout civil society. However, the task of solving problems between nationalities is arduous and the path is long.

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# Chapter 7
# Conclusion

## The Great Rejuvenation of the Chinese Nation

*The Chinese nation will completely throw off the oppressor; the country will be transformed from a semi-colony into a genuinely independent state; the Chinese people will be fully emancipated, overthrowing once and for all both feudal oppression and oppression by bureaucrat-capital (Chinese monopoly capital) and will thus achieve unity, democracy and peace, create the prerequisites for transforming China from an agricultural into an industrial country and make it possible for her to develop from a society with exploitation of man by man into a socialist society.*

–Mao Zedong, "Carry the Revolution Through to the End"

*The Communist Party of China is the vanguard both of the Chinese working class and of the Chinese people and the Chinese nation.*

*–Constitution of the Communist Party of China*

*In the time since the CPC was founded 88 years ago, came to power 60 years ago and introduced the reform and opening up policy over 30 years ago, several generations of Chinese Communists have always striven to achieve the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, consistently integrated the basic tenets of Marxism with the concrete realities of China, and united with and led the people of all ethnic groups throughout the country in working untiringly, overcoming all kinds of difficulties and dangers, and achieving one great victory after another in revolution, construction and reform.*

–"Communiqué of the 4th Plenary Session of the 17th CPC Central Committee"

*All the comrades in the Party must keep in mind their historic missions, remain modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and rashness, and maintain the style of plain living and hard struggle. We should be eager to make changes and innovations and guard against rigid thinking and stagnation. We will not vacillate, relax our efforts or act recklessly. And we will never be intimidated by risks or confused by distractions. We must unswervingly forge ahead along the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics and work even harder to unite with and*

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*lead the people of all ethnic groups in China in working for our happy life and the bright future of the Chinese nation.*

–Hu Jintao, "Speech at a Meeting Commemorating the 90th Anniversary of the Founding of the Communist Party of China"

The CPC was founded in 1921. From that time onward, the goal of the CPC in leading the people in fighting the New-Democratic Revolution was "to make the Chinese nation completely throw off the oppressor and transform the country from a semi-colony into a genuinely independent state"[1]

In reviewing the 90 years since the founding of the CPC, Hu Jintao stated, "With the founding of New China, the Chinese people became masters of their country and society and determined their own destiny. China achieved a great transition from a feudal autocracy that was several thousand years old to a people's democracy. Great unity and unprecedented solidarity of all ethnic groups were realized in China. The history of old China being a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society which was like a heap of loose sand was brought to an end once and for all. The unequal treaties imposed on China by imperialist powers and all the privileges they had in China were abolished. The Chinese people stood up, and the Chinese nation entered a new era of development and progress."[2]

In 1978, after the CPC experienced setbacks in its explorations of the path for building socialism it started down the path of reform and opening up based on China's actual conditions in the primary stage of socialism. This is the path of socialist modernization, the path of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, and a long and arduous path filled with challenges and dangers.

This is because no party in power in any country of the world has had faced the heavy responsibility of modernizing a country of 1.3 billion people and bringing them common development and prosperity. And there has never been any country that has had to face such a complex situation of solving nationality problems bequeathed it by history and such a heavy task of dealing with present conditions contributing to nationality questions as China has had to.

On the basis of integrating the Marxist basic theory of nationalities with the China's actual conditions, the CPC established a political system for solving the nationality question – the system of national regional autonomy, and promulgated the Law of the People's Republic of China on Regional National Autonomy. This law set forth a whole set of nationality policies grounded on a foundation of genuine equality pertaining to political, economic, cultural and social life; established 5 autonomous regions, 30 autonomous prefectures, 120 autonomous counties and thousands of autonomous townships; set up agencies in all levels of government to do work pertaining to nationalities and religion; established central and local nationality universities and colleges that primarily recruited students from minority

[1] Mao Zedong (1991a), p. 1375.

[2] Hu Jintao, "Speech at a Meeting Commemorating the 90th Anniversary of the Founding of the Communist Party of China" at http://news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2011-07/01/. This reference will not be cited again in further quotations from it.

nationalities; and set up research institutes and university departments to engage in research and teaching in the areas of ethnology, anthropology, nationality theory and nationality policy in the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, local academies of social science, universities and agencies doing work pertaining to nationalities and religion. This enormous system of nationality affairs has only one purpose – to achieve the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation by achieving the common prosperity and development of all China's nationalities through their common efforts.

In 2005 the Central Committee and State Council promulgated the Decision of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council on Further Strengthening Our Work Related to Nationalities and Accelerating the Economic and Social Development of Minority Nationalities and Minority Nationality Areas, which summarized and expounded 12 basic principles of Chinese Marxist nationality theory and policy. They are:

- Nationalities are stable human groups formed at a certain stage of historical development. In general, the people of the same nationality share common historical origins, methods of production, language, culture, customs and sense of identity. For many nationalities, religion played an important role in the course of their formation and development.
- The birth, development and disappearance of a nationality is a long historical process. In the course of the development of human society, nationalities arose and disappeared long before the appearance of classes and states.
- A socialist period is a period of common prosperity and development of all nationalities in which what different nationalities share in common constantly increases, but the unique characteristics of each nationality, the differences between them, and disparities in their levels of economic and social development persist for a long time.
- Nationality problems include problems concerning their own development and problems concerning relations between nationalities, between nationalities and classes and between nationalities and states. In today's world, nationality problems are ubiquitous, longstanding, complex, internationalized and important.
- The path of socialism with Chinese characteristics is the fundamental path for solving our country's ethnic problems. Our country's ethnic problems can be solved only by building socialism with Chinese characteristics and achieving the common undertaking of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.
- China is a united multi-nationality country founded by all our nationalities in common. The unification of the motherland is in the best interests of all our nationalities. The people of all our nationalities should draw upon and carry forward patriotic traditions, and consciously safeguard the motherland's security, honor and interests. Our country's nationality problems are our country's internal affairs, and we oppose any foreign power using nationality problems to carry out any activities to infiltrate or harm our country or overthrow its government.
- All China's nationalities are equal no matter how large or small, how long their history, or what their level of development. The state creates more and better development opportunities and conditions for minority nationalities and guarantees the legitimate rights and interests of all nationalities, and all nationalities have the duty to safeguard the sanctity of the Constitution and laws.

- Regional national autonomy is our Party's basic policy for solving nationality questions, a basic political system that is suitable to our country's conditions, and an important aspect of developing socialist democracy and establishing socialist political forms of social activity, and it must be adhered to for a long time and constantly improved. The Law on Regional National Autonomy is the legal guarantee for the system of regional national autonomy and it must be comprehensively put into practice.
- Equality, unity, mutual assistance and harmony are the inherent characteristics of our country's socialist nationality relations. The Han nationality is inseparable from the minority nationalities; the minority nationalities are inseparable from the Han nationality; and the various minority nationalities are inseparable from each other. The people of all nationalities should respect each other, learn about each other, cooperate with each other, constantly consolidate and strengthen the great unity between the people of all our country's nationalities, and create a harmonious socialist society.
- The theme of our nationality work in the present stage is all nationalities uniting in struggle to achieve common prosperity and development. Accelerating economic and social development in minority nationality areas is the main task of our nationality work in the present stage and the basic path for solving ethnic problems. We need to adhere to the Scientific Outlook on Development, and energetically support and assist minority nationalities and minority nationality areas accelerate their development.
- Culture is an important characteristic of nationalities, and minority nationality cultures are an important component of China's national culture. The state respects and protects the cultures of all minority nationalities; supports minority nationalities in carrying forward and developing outstanding aspects of their cultures and making innovations in it; and encourages all nationalities to increase cultural exchanges. The state also energetically develops education, science and technology, culture, public health and sports undertakings, and constantly raises the intellectual, moral, scientific, culture and health levels of all ethnic groups.
- Training and employing minority nationality cadres is the key to solving nationality problems and doing our nationality work well, and it is of great importance for fundamentally solving problems and getting long-term solutions. We need to create a large cohort of minority nationality cadres that have both character and talent. Cultivating talented people in minority nationality areas is a strategic task, and we need to energetically train people in minority nationality areas who have all kinds of skills required for modernization.[3]

[3] Decision of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council on Further Strengthening Our Work Related to Nationalities and Accelerating the Economic and Social Development of Minority Nationalities and Minority Nationality Areas, the State Ethnic Affairs Commission and the CPC Central Committee's Party Literature Research Office (eds.), *Selected Documents on Our Work Related to Nationalities* (2003–2009), Central Party Literature Publishing House, Beijing, 2010, pp. 91–93.

This is a high-level summary of the CPC's basic experience solving the nationality question since its founding, and especially in the course of carrying out modernization with Chinese characteristics. It is a refinement of the thinking and theory concerning nationality affairs in Mao Zedong Thought and the theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics, the fundamental policy and principle guiding the solution to nationality problems now and in the future, and the basic content for educating the masses of cadres to assiduously study nationality theory and firmly adopt the outlook of nationality policy in the present historical conditions.[4] Hu Jintao stated, "The Party's growth over the past 90 years shows that theoretical maturity is the basis for political conviction, advancing with the times theoretically is a prerequisite for forging ahead in action, and unity of thinking is an important guarantee for the whole Party to march in step." The above 12 articles sum up and condense CPC's long experience in solving nationality problems; are an embodiment of Marxism, Mao Zedong Thought and the theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics; and are grounded on the theory and political principles formed on the basis of the realities of a united minority nationality country. They are basic principles our Party and government must adhere to in solving nationality problems as they face long-term, complex, severe tests in governance, reform and opening up, the market economy and the external environment; as well as the guiding compass for advancing with the times and developing and improving China's nationality theory and policies in accordance with the new situation and the new problems they bring.

The system of China's nationality policies considered as a kind of system is unique and relatively complete. This collection of rules, laws and policies constitute a nationality policy system that has survived the test of all the viscidities our country has undergone since the founding of North China and the severe test presented by the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the great changes that occurred in Eastern Europe. At the same time it faced the practical challenges of containing the destructiveness of the Dalai Lama, East Turkistan separatists and their foreign cohorts and resisting the efforts of Western anti-Chinese forces to use nationality and religious issues to infiltrate China. Practice proves that in the history that is already past this nationality policy system effectively safeguarded the equal rights of all nationalities and provided substantive guarantees for safeguarding the unity of the country, solidarity between nationalities, and the common prosperity and development of all nationalities. Thus, in facing the present and future, this nationality policy system can certainly meet challenges and pass tests, and pilot the ship to achieve the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. Therefore, adhering to and improving this nationality policy system is a responsibility China's the theory and practice of solving nationality questions must attach great importance to. Adhering to it means unwaveringly implementing it, and improving it means enrich and develop it in practice so as to fully make use of the policy efficacy and fully embody its institutional strengths.

[4] The State Ethnic Affairs Commission (2011).

China's concept of human rights, policy of equality of nationalities, and development of regulations and rules for solving nationality questions are in a state of development, and must be developed while we adhere to them and improved as we develop them. The establishment of any system and the carrying out of any policy never achieve instant results; rather they involve a process of implementation, evaluation, alteration and improvement in the course of practice, and this is the correct and effective way to solve any problem. Therefore, in our country's present situation of being in the primary stage of socialism for a protracted period of time, it is not at all surprising that people cannot fully exercise their human rights, equality of nationalities has not been fully achieved, regulations and laws are not as good as they could be, and policy implementation is not fully satisfactory. The disparity between conception and implementation and between the intended and actual effects of policies to varying extents is generally to be found in our country's domestic and foreign affairs. Therefore, at the same time we applaud the great achievements that have been made in solving China's nationality questions, we cannot overlook the defects and shortcomings in our policy implementation and in the policies themselves. Hu Jintao stated, "China suffers from a serious lack of balance, coordination, and sustainability in its development; and there are institutional obstacles to sound development. In no way can we get around these problems, which must be resolved in the course of deepening reform." Reform is self-improvement within development, and also the scientific effective self-improvement of institutional design formulated through policy.

Only by correctly seeing existing problems can we cherish the results we have already obtained and strive to obtain the targets that have been set. Policy is the result of conceptualizing the will of the country, giving it concrete form and putting it into practice. Giving embodiment to political ideas, people's rights and interests, limitations on powers, and guarantees of rights and interests of the will of the country is the guiding principle of the work of all sectors of society and the standard of behavior for all work. China's nationality affairs are a major matter that relates to every aspect of the Party and government's work. The basic law of the country states "All citizens of the People's Republic of China are equal before the law." This is the constitutional principle guiding nationality affairs and the basic standpoint for formulating nationality policy. The purpose in adhering and improving all the Party and government's nationality policies is to make these policies as effective as possible in their application and achieve the purposes for which they were formulated. Candidly speaking, in the process of implementing all kinds of policies, problems invariably arise to some extent of their effects being amplifies of their not being fully implemented, and in some cases the phenomenon arises of the nationality policy principles being violated.

For example, in 2006, the NPC Standing Committee carried out an investigation of the implementation of the Law on Regional Autonomy and found the following problems:

- In the areas of specifying rights and duties regarding higher-level authorities providing financial guarantees, and local governments providing funds through

their own efforts, there were widespread problems of "Provisions for lessening or eliminating the burden on local governments to provide supplemental capital to implement the law are not enforced"; consequently local governments "are incapable of providing required support funds, with the result that construction projects in minority nationality areas are frequently behind schedule."

- "The central government does not provide sufficient support through transfer payments and the payments are not standardized" with the result that "in the case of transfer payments to support some projects there is overlap in the intended uses of allocations, the allocation process is not transparent, and capital does not reach its intended target on time if at all."
- "The rules on compensation for resource exploitation are not enforced." As a result, "When minority nationality areas supply natural gas, coal or other natural resource, the amount of compensation they receive is not only insufficient but also not standardized…. The minority nationality areas themselves have to bear all the related costs of the conversion of arable land, environmental pollution, geographical disasters and relocation of residents in the affected areas. The cadres and masses in the minority nationality areas are very angry about receiving too little compensation."
- "Compensation for ecological construction and environmental protection does not reach its intended targets." As a result, "People moved out of protected areas do not get the compensation they deserve or the assistance they need to resettle, and they move back to the places they had just been removed from."
- "It is necessary to accelerate the process of formulating and adopting auxiliary regulations." "First, the vast majority of agencies under the State Council have not formulated auxiliary regulations, measures and methods to ensure the implementation of the Law on Regional Autonomy; and second, the ordinances pertaining the governance of the five autonomous regions have still not been issued. Legislation in these two areas is proceeding very slowly. This not only affects the process of formulating auxiliary laws and regulations, but even more directly makes it impossible to fully implement the Law on Regional Autonomy and provisions of the State Council."
- "Some agencies do not give enough consideration to actual conditions in minority nationality areas." As a result, "They do not consider the differences between minority nationality areas and Han nationality areas and take the same approach to problems everywhere," which gives rise to problems in the areas of "alleviating poverty, consolidating schools and appointing officials."[5]

If these problems are not solved, the advantages of the system of regional national autonomy cannot be fully made use of.

[5] "Report of the Law Enforcement Inspection Team of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on the Implementation of the Law of the People's Republic of China on Regional National Autonomy," the State Ethnic Affairs Commission and the CPC Central Committee's Party Literature Research Office (eds.), *Selected Documents on Our Work Related to Nationalities* (2003–2009), Central Party Literature Publishing House, Beijing, 2010, pp. 188–190.

Another example concerns the formation of disturbances and terrorist activities by the Dalai Lama, the East Turkistan separatists and their foreign cohorts. After the crisis passes, it is entirely necessary for the whole of society to get its guard up and strengthen precautionary measures. However, such phenomena appear as "Members of some nationalities being singled out as targets for heightened security screening, and some auto rental companies, hotels or stores refusing to serve them, which encroaches on the legitimate rights and interests of minority nationalities," and this "seriously undermines national unity and social stability." Therefore, "it is necessary to take [this kind of phenomenon] very seriously, firmly rectify it, and prevent similar occurrences from happening."[6] When phenomena like this appear that violate policies concerning the equality of nationalities and of citizens, adopting this kind of racist, distrusting, preventative attitude and measures greatly hurts the feelings of members of minority nationalities and may even result in wrongs suffered by individuals will become grievances held by all. The cause for such preventative attitude and measures is similar to blaming all the members of the Tibetan nationality for the March 14 Lhasa incident or the Uyghur nationality for the July 5 Urumqi incident. This is exactly what the Dalai Lama, East Turkistan separatists and their foreign cohorts as well as foreign anti-Chinese forces hope for.

In this regard, we cannot take the present fermentation of nationality problems of the past and the effects they give rise as a characteristic of a given autonomous region or minority nationality, just as we cannot take the separatist activities of Taiwan separatist forces who seek to make Taiwan an independent country create a Taiwanese nationality and attribute them to the people of the Fujianese nationality in Taiwan, the people of Taiwan in general or the Han nationality. "It is not strange for a few members of a nationality to engage in separatist activities, and their actions in no way diminish the glorious contributions members of that nationality have made to the homeland."[7] In fact, dealing with problems like this is not very difficult. Everyone is equal before the law and everyone is equal before public security measures. In extraordinary times when it is necessary to adopt extraordinary security measures, everyone is equally subject to strict security search. As Hu Jintao said, "All the comrades in the Party should bear in mind that all people are equal before the law, that no one has the privilege to overstep institutions and that no exception should be made in enforcing institutional safeguards." This is fair and just, and it is a strict application of the Party and government's nationality policies because all nationality policies are based on the basic standpoint of the equality of all nationalities. This standpoint also extends to the problem of the sense of responsibility expressed in the Party's fundamental principle that the purpose of the Party is to serve the people. People who adopt a passive attitude and stance of noninvolvement in order to avoid taking responsibility when an accident happens justify themselves by appeal to the principle that "everyone should clean the snow from their own

[6] "Notice of the General Office of the State Council on Strictly Implementing the Party and State Nationality Policies," *ibid.*, p. 281.

[7] Jiang Zemin (2010), p. 1375.

doorstep." But the price of this attitude is the loss of the sense of social responsibility, social credibility and social cohesiveness.

Another example concerns preferential treatment of minority nationalities in China's system of nationality policies, for example, boosting students' scores on examinations or having more lenient family planning policies for minority nationalities. Isn't this reverse discrimination against Han people or the creation of a new kind of inequality? The policy of boosting examination scores of minority nationality students is an example of a limited number of preferential policies in the totality of nationality policies. This policy was adopted out of consideration of the backward economic and social development of minority nationality areas, the lack of education resources there, and the language conditions in which minority nationality students live, and its purpose is to boost scores (or equivalently lower examination score standards) to raise minority nationality student enrollment rates. Its adoption is necessarily for students to enjoy their right to use the education resources of society, and for accelerating training of all kinds of skilled personnel of all minority nationalities, making minority nationalities better able to develop themselves, and eliminating de facto inequality. Thus, differential allocation is aimed at equal treatment.[8] However, in implementing these policies, or alternatively effectively deriving the benefits from them, taking local conditions into consideration and seeking truth from facts, and not taking the easy path of using the same formula everywhere.

China is a developing country, and minority nationality areas in the western region are particularly economically and socially backward. There, the level of urbanization is low and the majority of the population is engaged in farming and herding, so in most circumstances applying preferential policies there is necessary for people living in areas where minority nationalities are concentrated to enjoy their to public welfare rights. However, it is not reasonable for minority nationality families in the main cities in such areas, and in cities in the central and eastern regions, including large cities such as Beijing (some of which have been living there for generations) to enjoy the same preferential treatment that families that live in remote areas or the countryside where the education opportunities and living conditions are much worse are entitled to. It is even less reasonable to propose the elimination of preferential policies because they are wrongly extended to cities in such a way that preferential treatment extended to some minority nationalities is tantamount to subjecting other nationalities to reverse discrimination.

Theoretically, integration and identity are easy for people to assent to or adhere to, but in reality people frequently adopt countermeasures when they are put into practice. In the situation in which our country's education resources still cannot satisfy the people's ever-increasing demand, competition to enter schools, including the need schools have to attract the best teachers and solicit donations, leads to the occurrence of grade inflation so rampant that it causes widespread harm and made the issue of fairness in education one of the most prominent issues in society. The policy of increasing the scores of minority nationality students is included in the

[8] Cf. Callinicos (2000).

country's policies on minority nationalities, and it is not bestowing favors and not a countermeasure carried out by local governments or schools. However, for this policy to be as effective as possible, then adjustments need to be made on the basis of the actual conditions in each minority nationality area and be oriented toward villages and herding families. This falls within the scope of the autonomous rights of national autonomous areas and it is also the responsibility of government agencies involved in nationality work.

In the course of economic and social development and the constantly increasing pace of urbanization, it is vitally important for policy implementation to take local conditions into account. If we acknowledge that a minority nationality country has de facto inequality due to historical, geographical, economic and social factors, then we must acknowledge that within a given minority nationality there also exists the problem de facto inequality due to differences in housing environment, social status and occupation and to policies based on these differences. This is true of minority nationalities and also the Han nationality. In fact Han migrant workers particularly feel this inequality in the course of urbanization. Eliminating this kind of de facto discrimination not only requires special policies, but also requires adapting a given policy to varying conditions and applying it more generously where needed; not implementing it uniformly without distinction. This is what adjusting policies means, and it is also the focus of perfecting policies. The purpose of such adjustments is for the policy to achieve the greatest, best and broadest efficacy in creating equality.

Rigid uniformity in the execution of policies is a simplification of their application, a violation of the basic principle in policy application of adapting policies to the situation, and a manifestation of a lack of administrative ability. Adapting policy application to local conditions involves the spirit of seeking truth from facts, and seeking truth from facts is the quintessence of Marxism as well as the Party's standpoint for raising its administrative level and strengthening its administrative capacity. We cannot avoid the deficiencies and problems in policy application, and we cannot be skeptical about or repudiate a policy because of deficiencies in its application. Rather, we must constantly adjust and improve our system of nationality policies on the foundation of policy experience and formulate tactics for carrying them out with local conditions in mind. Policies and tactics are the lifeblood of the Party.

China is a united multi-nationality country, and unity is paramount. All parts of the country including national autonomous areas need to implement and enforce unitary state policies on the basis of the principles of the Constitution and laws, and with this as a premise adapt their implementation to local conditions. Policies are the manifestation of the will of the state, and the principle of unity is the foundation for formulating policies. However, policies are always linked with tactics, and tactics are always the path and method of applying policies. In this sense, adapting one's measures to local conditions is the basic content of tactics.

Our country is a nation state in the process of being established, and the country's unified decrees, laws and education system are all important conditions for achieving integration of the state and national identity. The education plan introduced by the government is a framework for ensuring that all our citizens can enjoy their

right to an education, but it does not prevent localities from adopting steps and measures in light of actual conditions in the course of implementing it. For example, in implementing the requirement to strengthen bilingual education in minority nationality areas, all provinces and autonomous regions must implement it on the basis of the degree to which different minority nationalities are concentrated and the social language environment there, and they should not adopt a "one size fits all" approach and especially should not become divorced from reality and seek radical results and pursue a goal unsuited to the level of economic and social development. In a multi-nationality country, the "national language" or "the language in universal use" constitutes the basic conditions for communication between and merging of nationalities and for individuals to realize their development potential. In China no minority nationalities resent having to learn and master Chinese, but at the same time they all very much wish to use and preserve their own languages. Furthermore, using and development minority nationality spoken and written languages is an important component of the Law on Regional National Autonomy and the government's nationality policy.

In every modern country in every area of social activity – territory, sovereignty, national defense, diplomacy, administrative divisions, politics, economics, culture, education, science and technology, and medicine – there is a concentrated manifestation of the will of the country in the form of institutions, laws and government decrees. This is an unquestioned general principle, and national identity and integration is built and maintained on this foundation. Language is one of the basic factors integrating the country's nationalities "[I] ndeed the definition, standardization, and teaching of an official language has been one of the first tasks of 'national building' throughout the world."[9] However, in practice, bilingual education not only has to be adapted to different cultural and language environments and different ways of learning languages in different localities, but also has to be advanced gradually in the course of economic and social development. Lenin stated, "…the more urgently will the requirements of economic exchange impel various nationalities to study the language most convenient for general commercial relations."[10] If you go to Silk Street in Beijing and see the young men and women using English, Russian and Spanish to peddle their wares to foreigners, you will feel the power and effects of economic life. This result could not have been achieved by over-simplified collectivization, the bold satellite program or the radical Great Leap Forward. Hu Jintao stated, "We made mistakes and even suffered severe setbacks in some historical periods, and their root cause was that the guiding principles of the Party at the time were divorced from the real conditions in China." Similar mistakes were made in the past in solving nationality questions. However, "It was only by restoring and upholding the line of seeking truth from facts that the Party was able to correct its mistakes, overcome its setbacks and forge ahead triumphantly by relying on its own strengths and those of the people." Our Party's attitude toward the universality, length, complexity, international nature and importance of nationality questions is

[9] Kymlicka (2001), p. 312.

[10] Lenin (1977), p. 20.

one of seeking truth from facts. It will be difficult to keep from repeating the same mistakes if one does not have a deep understanding of these basic characteristics, ignore them in practice, and underestimate the protractedness and complexity of the process of solving them.

In the implementation of the bilingual education policy in minority nationality autonomous areas, it is not permitted to decrease or replace education in the minority nationality language or arbitrarily determine the proportion of instruction in the two languages; rather one must take the actual situation including the degree of concentration of the minority nationality, the social language environment, and the experience in bilingual education as one's starting point. Thus, the bilingual education program could differ in every prefecture and county. At the same time, it is necessary for the uniformity requirement in the policy principles to be implemented in practice, and give students' parents and students themselves the right to choose. Language equality inherently confers the right of choice and use. We need to form an education pattern in which instruction is given in minority nationality languages, bilingual instruction is carried out in different proportions, and instruction is given in Chinese, in order to meet the needs of the members of minority nationalities without putting a psychological burden on them. Therefore, in this situation, "We must consult the people on policies, learn about their needs, and seek suggestions from them. We must listen to their views, truthfully reflect their wishes, help alleviate their hardships, and protect their economic, political, cultural, and social rights and interests in accordance with the law." This is the basic requirement of policy implementation, conforms with the ideal for building a harmonious society of "respecting differences and embracing diversity," and give embodiment to the requirement expressed in state law and the system of regional autonomy of respecting and guaranteeing the right of minority nationalities in minority nationality areas to manage their own internal minority nationality affairs.

In China, the Han nationality constitutes an absolute majority and plays the dominant role in political, economic, cultural and social life. For example, the universal language of China is Putonghua and standard Chinese characters. Putonghua is the common language of the modern Chinese nation that takes the Beijing dialect as its standard of pronunciation and canonical modern vernacular written Chinese as its standard of grammar. "Standard Chinese characters are the simplified characters that have undergone the process of sorting and simplification and formally published in the word table published by the government together with characters that occur in earlier writings and are still in use but have not undergone this process." The "common language of the modern Chinese nation" and "standardized Chinese characters" are the tools all nationalities must have a mastery of and use in communication between nationalities because they constitute the common language of the country and a basic hallmark of the creation of a nation state and forging the identity of the Chinese nation. Of course, this is a requirement imposed on all nationalities, including the Han nationality, because the vast majority of Han people view their local dialect and not Putonghua as their mother tongue.

In this sense, the adaptation of the Han nationality to the universal spoken and written language of the country can be considered a matter of its internal affairs

because there are many dialects of spoken Chinese and traditional Chinese characters are still used in popular culture and in Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan, and they have an important place in the arts, particularly calligraphy as well as film and television. "Protecting the local dialect" has already become an important cultural activity in areas where a given local dialect is commonly used, and in Guangzhou residents have taken to the streets to demonstrate in favor of preserving Cantonese. Many people maintain that the Han nationality is a bilingual nationality and call for the preservation of local dialects. Therefore, the spoken and written languages of minority nationalities and the local dialects of the Han nationality are both important carriers of China's cultural diversity, and it is necessary to protect and transmit them in practice. At the same time, both minority nationalities and the Han nationality must study and master the common language of the Chinese nation. In both cases, this is a matter of assimilating people into the Chinese nation, not the Han nation. Looking at the internal affairs of minority nationalities in this light, including petitions presented by elementary and secondary students of the Tibetan nationality in Tibetan areas of Qinghai Province concerning the proportion of education given in Chinese and Tibetan in their bilingual education, these cases all unquestionably accept the fairness of this principle. As a matter of fact, members of the Han nationality living in areas where minority nationalities are concentrated also receive bilingual education and study and master the minority nationality language prevalent there, and they receive state policy encouragement for doing so.

Because the Han nationality is the dominant nationality in China and it embodies all kinds of nationality characteristics, its internal affairs are more extensive, and it has broadly undergone remolding and standardization and has merged into the national culture, become universal and permeated all aspects of society. For example, the legal national holidays include ones that are part of Han nationality social and cultural tradition. For minority nationalities, their spoken and written languages, cultural customs and economic life prevail and are preserved mainly in areas where they are concentrated, and their legal standing falls within the scope of internal affairs the minority nationalities manage themselves and any laws and regulations concerning them are ones passed by the governing bodies of those areas. At the same time the state respects and guarantees minority nationality areas right to manage the internal affairs of their minority nationality, it requires that their internal affairs possess characteristics linked to the state, universal practices and Chinese society. The country's currency carries writing in some minority languages, important state documents are all translated into minority nationality languages, and official business in national autonomous areas uses one or more oral and written languages prevalent in those areas with prominence given to the language of the nationality governing the area. All these are characteristics linking their internal affairs to the state because the agencies of regional national autonomy are the local organs of state power. Comparatively speaking, the extent to which the internal affairs of minority nationalities possess characteristics linked to the state, universal practices and Chinese society falls far short of the extent to which the internal affairs of the Han nationality are; however, there are many examples of minority nationality cultural customs have become universal social practices in the localities where

they are concentrated, and this is the first step in becoming widespread throughout society. Moreover, the issue is not a matter of more or less, but one of equality, uniqueness, enriching Chinese culture, and making a contribution to the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. Of course, such contributions are not limited to culture in the broadest sense. Autonomous nationality areas also make contributions to the environment, resources, unique economic activities, building border areas and strengthening national defense, all of which is of great strategic importance for the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

In summarizing China's socialist construction, Deng Xiaoping once stressed, "The biggest lesson we have learned is that we should not isolate ourselves from the rest of the world."[11] China's experience in reform and opening up has already proven this. Not isolating ourselves from the rest of the world means absorbing and drawing lessons from all the outstanding cultural achievements of human society, creating in the course of merging with the world an international environment in which the Chinese nation can stand tall in the family of the world's nations, and making our rightful contribution to world peace and development through our own self-development. Nationality affairs, and addressing and solving nationality problems are also like this. China needs to draw on the experience of the whole world in addressing and solving nationality problems, and China can contribute its success in solving nationality problems to the world for it to learn from.

In adhering to and improving the system of nationality policies that has the system of regional national autonomy as its main pillar, we must learn from and draw upon the successful experience of the world and also the lessons of failure, but we absolutely cannot indiscriminately copy their example or apply their practices wholesale. The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe provide a good lesson in the failure of socialist countries to solve the nationality problems of a multi-nationality country that everyone is familiar with. The crux of the issue is to be clear about the cause of this failure. Chinese and foreign scholars have expressed a wide variety of views on this, which fall into two categories. First, although the Soviet Union established institutions, laws and policies for solving nationality problems and creating equality between nationalities, it did not genuinely and firmly implement them in practice, and highly concentrated power encouraged Great Russian Chauvinism, which created a centrifugal force among non-Russian nationalities. Second, the Soviet Union politicized its arrangements and policies for guiding the solution to nationality problems, and this not only led each nationality to carve out its own territory, but also strengthened the position of all the nationalities in the country. The freedom to leave the union was ensconced in law, which gave rise to a sense of nationalism and national self-determination in opposition to the Russian nationality, which ultimately led to a separatist movement and the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

The United States' success in dealing with nationality problems by means of enculturation provides evidence for the second view. This perspective suggests that China's efforts to solve the nationality problem at that time were heavily influenced by the Soviet Union's politicization of the problem. The implication is that China's

[11] Deng Xiaoping (1994), p. 290.

nationality policy of regional national autonomy is basically a product of the Soviet mode, and that China should adopt a new way of thinking based on the American approach of enculturation to solve its nationality problem. The widely held view that the approach to the nationality question should be shifted from politicization to enculturation claims that the United States' successful experience in solving conflicts between nationalities and ethnic groups provides a valuable frame of reference. Therefore the 56 nationalities identified by the government and acknowledged by the people should be considered to be 56 ethnic groups. According to this view, the way to eliminate a sense of nationality differentiation and achieve harmonization of relations between nationalities and equality in civil society is by removing the entry identifying a person's nationality on the Chinese national identity card, and eliminating all preferential policies based on nationality. This good-intentioned vision transforms the long-standing and complex nationality problem into a simple and clear cultural issue, as if all one has to do is change the categories one uses in one's thinking from political to cultural ones and one can thereby achieve the goal of equality of nationalities, common development and prosperity, and a common sense of Chinese national identity.

No matter whether the multicultural policies pursued by the United States and other Western countries are policies of culturalization or not, the policy of multiculturalism, which is rooted in cultural relativism, is in conflict with the American notion of individualism because "This issue affects the foundation of the whole American system because the American system is based on individual rights not group rights." However, multiculturalism is put forth in service to the rights and political demands of ethnic groups. In this situation, "This is the kind of question the makers of a new American pluralism are going to answer as we move on through the process of deciding just what kind of a society we want the American society to be."[12] Thirty years later Samuel Huntington provided an answer, "The ideologies of multiculturalism and diversity eroded the legitimacy of the remaining central elements of American identity, the cultural core and the American Creed." They were manifested in "the various movements promoting group rights against individual rights." These ethnic interest groups "urged supplementing or substituting for national history the history of subnational groups. They downgraded the centrality of English in American life and pushed bilingual education and linguistic diversity. They advocated legal recognition of group rights and racial preferences over the individual rights central to the American Creed. They justified their actions by theories of multiculturalism and the idea that diversity rather than unity or community should be America's overriding value. The combined effect of these efforts was to promote the deconstruction of the American identity that had been gradually created over three centuries and the ascendance of subnational identities."[13] Granting that the policy of multiculturalism is a policy of culturalization, its practical effect is to the result Brzezinski and Huntington feared, namely the politicization of ethnic groups and a challenge to nationality identity on the state level. This is not only true

[12] Isaacs (1975), p. 214.

[13] Huntington (2005), pp. 18, 142.

in theory, but also has been borne out in practice in American society. Therefore, using the term culturalization to describe the United States' ethnic policy and its success in eliminating ethnic consciousness and sense of nationality identity is one sided and incorrect.

In comparative research on the nationality (racial) problem in the former Soviet Union and the United States and their methods of handling it, nationality status is civil society or civic society. A number of research conclusions maintain that the sense of citizenship should be strengthened and nationality identity should be eliminated. Theoretically, the Soviet Union advocated collectivism, and at the same time the people of all the Soviet Union's nationalities were citizens of the Soviet Union, they also enjoyed nationality identity; whereas the United States advocated individualism, deemphasized the sense of ethnic identity and emphasized *e pluribus unum*. In practice, the former Soviet Union acknowledged nationality identity and nominally recognized related rights, which initiated a crisis that ended in its dissolution; whereas the United States' melting pot approach, which resulted in the civil rights movement, the implementation of multiculturalism, distinguishing between ethnic groups,[14] and the adoption of affirmative action, which preserves the rights of ethnic groups including the right to bilingual education. As a result, "all ethnic groups developed a heightened sense of their uniqueness and participated more actively in politics."[15] Although they took different approaches, they were in substance both the result of the failure to achieve unity. Stating the situation simplistically:

Soviet Union: recognition of nationality identity and nationality rights – Russification – failure and dissolution – a higher level of recognition.[16]

The United States: melting pot – failure and division – recognition of ethnic identity and ethnic rights – renewed emphasis on Americanization.[17]

However, under the influence of these foreign scholars, when a number of Chinese scholars used the analytic framework and standards of self-identity of Western theory of ethnic groups to observe groups in China, they thought they discovered a lot of mistakes in the way China's nationalities were distinguished. They mimicked a number of Western anthropologists who supposedly identified customs passed on by "original inhabitants" who had already disappeared from historical memory and on that basis aroused ethnic consciousness in groups that had already formed naturally and got them to form new groups. What is the purpose of transforming China's 56 nationalities, including the Han nationality, into ethnic groups? Is this kind of

[14] In the mid-1970s, Harvard University received funding from the United States government to carry out the "nationality heritage plan" and began to compile the *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, which it published in 1980. This book distinguished more than 100 ethnic groups and discussed their ethnicity. This is the bible for distinguishing ethnic groups and the guide for identifying ethnic identity. Cf. Thernstrom (1980).

[15] Brzezinski (2004), p. 193.

[16] In the formulation of the contemporary Russian Federation, the national autonomous republics of the former Soviet Union were elevated to national republics, and national autonomous regions were elevated to national autonomous republics.

[17] This is the view of Zbigniew Brzezinski, Samuel Huntington and others.

so-called depoliticization of nationalities and carrying out the culturalization of ethnic groups for the purpose of solving the nationality problem or to distinguish even more interest groups? This question deserves deep consideration. When scholars use the "discovery of ethnic groups" or the "structure of ethnic groups" to criticize their opponents' distinctions between nationalities, it is worthwhile to consider the perspective an American scholar has on this practice: When European and American scholars criticize the Chinese for their mistakes in discovering ethnic groups, they are criticizing others for something they have never done before.[18] The United States views immigrants who speak Spanish as Hispanics, immigrants from Asia as Asian-Americans, and all black people who have roots in Africa as African-Americans. These are the ethnic distinctions it makes in its population statistics, so naturally this is the country's policy. Aside from racial distinctions, how much content does it have concerning ethnic culture? If it has any, it proves that these racial ethnic groups have not yet identified with American core culture.

Concepts are the fulcrum of theory. Although the concept of ethnic groups is very old, its widespread use in the United States and other Western countries as well as with whole world dates from the civil rights movement in the United States in the 1960s. The factual basis that lies at the foundation of ethnic theory consists of American racial relations, immigrant communities and the heightened ethnic consciousness arising from a high level of urbanization, all of which were testaments to the failure of the American melting pot. After this theory became prevalent throughout the West, it became the basis upon which Western scholars observed the world and studied inter-ethnic relations in non-Western countries, and this theory and its accompanying methods were copied by non-Western scholars studying their own societies. The problem is that the widespread use of ethnic groups intensifies distinctions between and differentiation of ethnic groups and leads to the endless discovery of ethnic consciousness and demands. Nearly all research on ethnic groups cannot avoid and indeed must face the prevalent issues and inevitable phenomena of ethnic recognition, ethnic recertification, ethnic identity, ethnic politics and ethnic clashes. Therefore, the fermentation of the concept of ethnicity is a global phenomenon. Do multi-nationality, multi-ethnic countries that have immigrants from many other countries, that have been subjected to ethnicized research by Western and domestic scholars and those countries that use ethnic statistics to classify nationalities, minority nationalities and minorities effectively eliminate social conflicts and clashes and avoid the threat of separatism? This question is difficult to answer.

The idea that at birth people are equal, free, loving and democratic and have human rights is a basic notion of the Western capitalist world. But today, several hundred years after the development of capitalist society, what developed capitalist country can boast that it fully achieves these ideals? The United States is known as the representative of democracy, freedom and human rights, but although it professes to enjoy freedom from ethnic and nationalist conflict, "it has been considerably less than our national mythology would have us believe."[19]

[18] Cf. Stevan Harrel, "On the History and Translation of Some Anthropological Terms."

[19] Huntington (2005), pp. 61–62.

Unquestionably, in multi-nationality countries of the world today, the problem of the rights of minority groups (racial, national, religious or language groups) in the integration and identity of state nations is a difficult problem they all face. The vast majority of the nearly 200 countries of the world are nation states. Although the nationality problem does not take the same form in all these countries, but no one can claim that it doesn't exist to some degree. There are some Western developed countries in which different nationalities get along rather well, but in others, there are constant friction, occasional clashes, separatism, terrorism and immigration problems. The same is true for developing countries. This is determined by the universality, complexity and persistence of nationality questions. Therefore, whether you observe the nationality problem on the global scale or turn your attention to China's nationality problem, no country's nationality problem can be divorced from its history and its present national conditions. One cannot make farfetched comparisons of and rashly criticize different countries' nationality policies, including China's system of regional national autonomy, without looking into the facts.

As far as China is concerned, implementing the system of regional national autonomy under the principle of a united country accords with this principle and the prophetic vision of our country's characteristics. Practice proves that all of China's national autonomous areas are political entities that apply the Law on Regional National Autonomy under the leadership of the CPC in accordance with Constitutional principles. All the nationalities in China's national autonomous areas are firm forces that safeguard the country's unity and consolidate the solidarity of our countries nationalities. China has 155 national autonomous areas at various levels, and not one of them has demanded to separate from China or nurtured separatist forces because of implementing the system of regional national autonomy. The Dalai Lama clique and the "East Turkistan" forces did not arise because we practice the system of regional national autonomy. They both reject, vilify and attack this system and demand "a high degree of autonomy" or an "independent country," and their reason is precisely because the system of regional national autonomy constrains the plots of these extremist forces to splinter the motherland. Therefore, unwaveringly taking the development path of socialism with Chinese characteristics and adhering to and improving the system of national regional autonomy is the path we must follow to achieve the integration of the Chinese nation. In this respect we cannot follow in someone else's footsteps or choose another path.

At present, China is one of the most rapidly developing countries in the world and also one of the countries undergoing the greatest social changes. In the 30 plus years since adopting reform and opening up, China's economic and social development has achieved successes that have astounded the world. However, just as Hu Jintao said, "China's basic condition has not changed, that is, it is still in the primary stage of socialism and will remain so for a long time to come, and the principal issue in society is still how to meet the ever-growing material and cultural needs of the people while upgrading backward social production. And China's international status as the largest developing country in the world has not changed." No matter how the West or the world judges China, these three ways in which China has not changed take China's national conditions and a down-to-earth attitude as their basis

and they are the basic starting point we take for understanding and addressing all of China's social problems, including its nationality problems.

In 1998, at a small group symposium of the State Nationality Affairs Committee, I expressed my opinion on China's nationality problem, saying, "China's nationality problem has not yet reached its peak." The basis for this judgment was the fact that after the adoption of reform and opening up, China's nationality problems became significantly more numerous and intense. By more numerous I mean, "nationality problems, including development problems within nationalities, problems between nationalities, and problems nationalities have with classes and the state" became more complex and diverse. By more intense I mean, "External forces used nationality problems to infiltrate China and carry out activities to break up the country and overthrow the government."[20] That's the way things are.

Since the adoption of reform and opening up, China's nationality problems have become more numerous, complex and diverse. China's nationality problems are a constitutive part of China's social problems, and they follow the law "when the water rises, the boats on it rise too." This is the way things are and there's no need to avoid acknowledging it or being sensitive about it. However, owing to the geographical location of areas where minority nationalities are concentrated and their capability carrying out economic and social development on their own, the level of implementation of reform and opening up, the dynamics by which society is transforming, the orientation of changes in the pattern of interests and the extent of population movement all lag behind and are much slower than, more one-dimensional and more limited than in the interior and the southeast coastal region. Even so, the intense desire of minority nationalities to accelerate development leads them to compare their development to that of Han nationality, the coast and large cities and makes them more dissatisfied with their level of development. During an inspection of border areas in 1994, one local leader asked, "You people came from Beijing. Does the country still want to keep this area where we live?" It doesn't matter whether he was right or wrong, it encapsulates the fervent desire to develop and the effect of the widening development gap. During the period of "combating and preventing revisionism" and "preparing against war and natural disasters" made great sacrifices for the sake of development, and the development strategy of revitalizing border areas that is part of the project to greatly develop the western region is in part designed to compensate the border areas for the sacrifices they made in the past.

Since the beginning of the great development of the western region, the region's economic and social development and accelerated, social transformation has progressed more quickly, the pattern of interests has become more diverse, and population mobility has increased. This has resulted in greater contacts between the western region and minority nationality areas there with the state, the interior and

[20] "Decision of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council on Further Strengthening Our Work Related to Nationalities and Accelerating the Economic and Social Development of Minority Nationalities and Minority Nationality Areas," the State Ethnic Affairs Commission and the CPC Central Committee's Party Literature Research Office, *Selected Documents on Our Work Related to Nationalities* (2003–2009), Central Party Literature Publishing House, Beijing, 2010, p. 92.

the eastern region, and that economic, cultural and social relations between nationalities have become a lot closer. As relations between the areas of China and between its nationalities have broadened, deepened and become closer, these relations have become part of the social fabric and become people-to-people relations, nationality problems have become intertwined with social problems and the two kinds of problems now affect each other, and nationality relations have become a universal element of the whole system of social relations and their influence has increased daily. The relative effect of regional development, the division between the interests of regions and the state and between the interests of regions and enterprises, and comparative interests such as the allocation of interests, the distribution of education, employment and income between different nationalities, and rights and interests inevitably give rise to situations in which diverse contradictions and frequent friction occur. In addition cultural adaptation and preservation, environmental problems, the clashes between tradition and modernity in society, the fact that nationality relations are becoming part of the social fabric, becoming people-to-people relations and are increasingly taking place in cities, and that minority nationality people are becoming more mobile and intermingling, all of which are development tendencies that cannot be stopped, all add to the increase in nationality problems. These problems include all kinds of social problems occurring in the interior and the eastern region, and in the next 10 years in the course of the rapid development of the western region and the leapfrog development of minority nationality areas therein these problems will probably reach their greatest intensity. Because these problems that have the same source and nature involve nationalities' capability for self-development and ethnic relations, they also have the nature of nationality problems. In addition, because these problems have become part of the social fabric and become involved in people-to-people relations, fortuitous clashes between individuals can readily give rise to large-scale mass incidents that threaten social stability and nationality relations.

My reference to the increased intensity of nationality problems most particularly refers to national separatist situations and incidents fomented by the Dalai Lama, "East Turkistan" forces and Western anti-Chinese forces. However, the severity of such situations and the level of violence of the incidents are all directly related to the number of nationality problems. This is a matter concerning internal and external causes. Mao Zedong stated, "The fundamental cause of the development of a thing is not external but internal; it lies in the contradictoriness within the thing…. Similarly, social development is due chiefly not to external but to internal causes…. Materialist dialectics holds that external causes are the condition of change and internal causes are the basis of change, and that external causes become operative through internal causes."[21] No matter how the world changes, whether it becomes a global village as a result of economic globalization, a global state to which individual countries yield their sovereignty, a world in which human rights override sovereignty, or a global extension of the European Union, for China and for developing countries that are still in the first stages of building a nation state these

[21] Mao Zedong (1991b), pp. 301–302.

alternatives are conceptions and logic that one can take into consideration or one can simply go with the flow. The principle of safeguarding sovereignty and independence and not permitting interference in one's internal affairs is a core interest China will not waver in. However, in the course of China's opening up and development and its merging into international society, telecommunications, the Internet, the media, transportation and international relations all have an effect on Chinese society and external factors have an influence on a country's internal affairs that have an unprecedented effect on it. This is one reason for the "international nature" of the nationality question. Therefore, external factors indisputably have a strong impact on internal factors. Nonetheless, these changes alter the basic principle of materialist dialectics that "External factors are the condition of change and internal factors are the basis of change; and external factors can have an impact only through their effect on internal factors."

All kinds of anti-Chinese forces beyond our borders use China's social problems to sensationalize our shortcomings, slander our institutions and even attempt to overthrow our government. For example, the "Democracy Movement" and Falungong and their supports have done this for many years. The Dalai Lama clique and the "East Turkistan" forces beyond our borders use China's nationality problems to carry out similar activities, and they provide the pretext for forces in the United States and other Western countries to use China's religion and nationality problems to interfere in China's internal affairs. Therefore, these forces use all kinds of manifestations of China's nationality problems to fabricate preposterous stories and malicious exaggerations for the purpose of fomenting incidents, exacerbating situations, inciting "nationalistic resistance" and setting nationalities against each other in the name of what the Western world calls ecuminism so that they can play the part of "spokesmen for interests of nationalities" to gain influence and the support of the West and gain sufficient stature to negotiate with China. This is the only value they can find to attach to their lives of exile in the West and the only motive Western anti-Chinese forces have for embracing and supporting them.

In fact, these forces have already gone down a path of no return. So they will continue to use China's nationality and religion problems and social problems concerning the development of minority nationality areas to justify their existence. The Dalai Lama clique will not disappear when the Dalai Lama dies like monkeys that scatter when their tree falls. The "East Turkistan" forces will not lose the support of Western anti-Chinese forces because of their religious background or terrorist tendencies. This is because these forces serve the purpose of Western anti-Chinese forces – not to allow the cause of socialist modernization with Chinese characteristics to prosper and succeed. This purpose has not changed. Therefore, if we can anticipate as some people expect that China's nationality problems will increase in the next 10 years, the Dalai Lama, East Turkistan separatists and their foreign cohorts beyond our borders will continue to increase their pressure. Furthermore, these forces will unite with the "Democracy Movement" and its ilk to plot to set off the "fourth wave of democracy" to influence the direction China takes. This is the common political goal that unites them.

Prediction isn't fact, but it contains understanding and judgment based on trends discernible in what has happened and is now happening. Its purpose is to squarely face challenges and strive to prevent trouble before it occurs. At the celebration of the 90th anniversary of the founding of the CPC, Hu Jintao movingly recounted how the CPC led the people of all China's nationalities in successfully carrying out three great enterprises – "the new-democratic revolution, the socialist revolution, a great new revolution of reform and opening up" and making two great theoretical achievements: "Mao Zedong Thought and Deng Xiaoping Theory." At the same time he prompted everyone to think deeply by pointing out the challenges the CPC now faces, "The entire Party must be keenly aware that at a time of profound changes in global, national and intra-Party conditions, we are now faced with many new developments, problems, and challenges in our effort to enhance the Party's leadership and governance and its ability to resist corruption and degeneration and to withstand risks, and strengthen its governance capacity and advanced nature. We are facing long-term, complicated and severe tests in governing the country, in implementing reform and opening up and in developing the market economy, as well as tests in the external environment. And the whole Party is confronted with growing danger of lacking in drive, incompetence, divorce from the people, lacking in initiative, and corruption. It has thus become even more important and urgent than ever before for the Party to police itself and impose strict discipline on its members." He noted that facts already prove, "Looking back at China's development and progress over the past 90 years, we have naturally come to this basic conclusion: Success in China hinges on the Party." Nationality affairs are also an important matter that affects the overall interests of the Party and country.

The CPC has always placed great emphasis on nationality work and required the whole Party to uphold a series of major basic principles concerning it: to firmly grasp the "two common" themes of nationality work; adhere to and improve the system of regional national autonomy; consolidate and develop harmonious socialist nationality relations of equality, unity and mutual assistance; advocate respecting differences and embracing diversity; take sound development as the theme and transforming the mode of economic growth as the main line; accelerate development of minority nationalities and minority nationality areas; and achieve leapfrog development and lasting political and social stability. However, how to get these major basic principles for solving nationality problems that affect all the Party and government's work to become the common intellectual and theoretical consensus of the whole Party and the practical policy effect of the Party's ruling capability is also a question of great importance that we must pay great attention to in the course of solving our nationality problems and correctly, comprehensively and thoroughly carrying out these principles. Only if we genuinely implement these important basic principles (while suiting measures to local conditions) will we be able to effectively decrease the tendency for nationality problems to increase, and thereby decrease the intensity of nationality problems. Many problems lie hidden and cannot be circumvented, but if we pursue what is beneficial and avoid what is harmful and nip problems in the bud we can accomplish this. We cannot completely transfer our experience in developing the eastern region and the interior to the western region,

but the problems that arose in developing those regions can provide cautionary lessons in developing the western region and minority nationality areas. In addition, in the course of accelerating the leapfrog economic and social development of minority nationality areas, we not only need social stability but also an auspicious social environment. Strengthening oneself will spur the transformation of society and culture, and a relaxed and harmonious social environment will alleviate many psychological and practical problems in people's lives caused by rapid change.

China is a developing country that is in and will for a long time remain in the primary stage of socialism. This is a basic fact that no other country can ignore. At the same time, China's development has within it many practical problems that urgently need to be solved. The world is well aware of these problems, and there are countless judgments and prognostications about them. Some foreign forces have a gleeful attitude of schadenfreude and are hoping for a domino effect to occur. China's nationality problems are one focus of their attention. Of course, this is nothing new. Rather, it is a long-standing challenge. Hu Jintao noted, "Development is still the key to solving all the problems in China. Only by constantly consolidating the material foundation for upholding and building socialism with Chinese characteristics, can we solve the basic conflicts in Chinese society" and then solve the basic contradictions in Chinese society, and thereby solve all of China's social problems, including nationality problems, that are conditioned and influenced by these basic contradictions. Although the population of the western region is less than a third of China's whole population, the task of developing it is most onerous and complex, and we must be prepared for a long and hard effort. Hu Jintao gave a warning about China's future development, "Any method that stubbornly adheres to old ways, is divorced from practice, lags behind or gets too far ahead of the realities is bound to fail." This is of great guiding practical significance for the development or the western region, particularly minority nationality areas in the next the years.

The integration of the Chinese nation is the national identity basis for achieving the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. The whole course of this integration is the coordination of all components of the Chinese nation that share with and benefit each other[22] and it is the common flourishing and development, the common sharing of the fruits of reform and opening up by all China's nationalities achieved through the mechanism of nationality relations based on equality, unity, mutual assistance and harmony. This is a necessary requirement for China to build a nation state and achieve the unity of the Chinese nation.

It needs to be said that although research on the Chinese nation by Chinese scholars includes research from a historical vantage point on the formation and development of the Chinese nation through a cohesive force, and an academic subdiscipline devoted to the cohesive force of the Chinese nation, but it lacks research on the Chinese nation from the vantage point of a nation state. In recent years, as Western theoretical works on the theory of nationalism have been translated into Chinese, theoretical a nation state, a state nation and nationalism have become hot topics of discussion. In particular the academic world has turned its attention to the

[22] Cf. Laszlo (1993).

creation of a modern nation state at the end of the Qing Dynasty and the beginning of the republican period, and to the history of the evolution of the concept of the Chinese nation after the Revolution of 1911, and it has turned ever-greater attention to the issue of a nation state. However, the academic world's research on formation of the Chinese nation state and the model for the Chinese nation are still in the early stages. In recent years, especially since the March 14 incident in Lhasa and the July 5 incident in Urumqi, the issue of consensus on the Chinese nation has attracted the attention of all sectors of society, but as for the questions of how to achieve and strengthen consensus and how to create a nationality community on a national level in this nation state, the academic world has not yet given the intellectual support it should give to taking this issue from the realm of theory to the realm of practice.

As stated before, Lenin made a judgment concerning the two historical tendencies in the capitalist world toward the nationality question. "The first is the awakening of national life and national movements, the struggle against all national oppression, and the creation of national states. The second is the development and growing frequency of international intercourse in every form, the break-down of national barriers, the creation of the international unity of capital, of economic life in general, of politics, science, etc. Both tendencies are a universal law of capitalism. The former predominates in the beginning of its development, the latter characterizes a mature capitalism that is moving towards its transformation into socialist society."[23]

The first tendency has already appeared around the world, but most countries have not yet completed the task of creating a nation state. The second tendency has also already appeared, and its most notable manifestation is the "international unification" and the accompanying "elimination of national estrangement" brought about by economic globalization. However, we are still a long way from "forming an international unity in politics, science and other areas." Opposition in ideology and political systems is still severe; scientific and technological capability and the use of core technologies is still mainly restricted to a number of Western countries; and mature capitalism is still unable to solve its internal problems – the launching of wars, economic and financial crises, social problems, and nationality, racial and immigration problems. At the same time, even though China has already made great accomplishments that have drawn worldwide attention, explorations into building socialism on a global scale are still at the primary stage and cannot offer successful experiences for human society to provide the conditions to spur capitalism to transform itself into socialism. Therefore, 98 years ago, Lenin's warning contained in his insight into these two tendencies still has important practical significance. "The Marxists' national programme takes both tendencies into account, and advocates, firstly, the equality of nations and languages and the impermissibility of all privileges in this respect (and also the right of nations to self-determination with which we shall deal separately later); secondly, the principle of internationalism and uncompromising struggle against contamination of the proletariat with bourgeois

[23] Lenin (1971), p. 15.

nationalism, even of the most refined kind."[24] Although this statement pertains the relations between nation states in the context of international relations, it also offers enlightenment to relations between nationalities in a multi-nationality country in that it both protects equality, including language equality, between nationalities and opposes all forms of nationalism.

In the capitalist world, building a nation state and building a state nation requires the kinetic energy of nationalism. Stalin has already given a penetrating discussion of the dual nature of nationalism in the process of building a nation state. He expounded on how the proletarian drew upon and supported the national liberation movement, how multi-nationality countries eliminated the remnants of the "two kinds of nationalism" of the bourgeoisie, and why the proletarian international and capitalist nationalism cannot be reconciled. His conclusion is, "Nationalism is the last position from which the bourgeoisie must be driven in order to vanquish it completely."[25] Of course in the global context, the vanquishing of capitalism by socialism is a battle that is still being fought, and we are still a long way away from capitalism's "last stand." Therefore, nationalism and all the problems it gives rise to are pervasive throughout the world. The hegemonism of the United States and other Western countries is a product of nationalism, just as nationalism once gave rise to chauvinism, colonialism imperialism, militarism and fascism. And the response of state nations that rose up to oppose this kind of hegemonism is also nationalistic in character, and it also can be said to be patriotic in character.

In the course of building a nation state, if it can be said that a state nation is a kind of coin minted by force of a country's strength, then one side of the coin is patriotism and the other side is nationalism. The former sings the national anthem and the latter expresses national sentiment. Ernest Gellner maintains, "Nationalism is a very distinctive species of patriotism."[26] In practice, in general the former is a rational kind of guidance inculcated in people through training and control by the state, and the latter is a kind of irrational motivation that spontaneously erupts in civil society and is spread through the effect of emotions. Both are unavoidable expressions of feelings and moods in which citizens participate that arise from external pressure. Both commonly occur in relations between countries and in international interaction. The former obtains the widespread support of a country's citizens owing to a state upholding the principles of safeguarding the country's sovereignty and independence and not tolerating interference in its internal affairs, and the latter gives rise to fervid speech and action on the part of some citizens as a result of forces in society spontaneously mobilizing national self-respect. However, since ancient times, irrationally arousing national self-respect and a sense of superiority can give rise to a kind of nationalistic "false pride" as Giambattista Vico said in the eighteenth century, "All nationalities, whether Greek or barbarian, have a sense of false pride, and think they have a more ancient history than others and they invented the amenities of life earlier than others, and their own history as they remember it traces

[24] *Ibid*.

[25] Stalin (1953b), p. 93.

[26] Gellner (1983), p. 138.

back to the beginning of time."[27] This is an important cause of conflicts and clashes between nationalities and countries.

In 1993, the Republic of Macedonia obtained is independence from the former Yugoslavia and joined the United Nations under the name of the former Yugoslavia Republic of Macedonia. It is at present the only country in the world that contains the word Yugoslavia in its official name. Of course, this does not indicate that Macedonians feel nostalgia for Yugoslavia, but rather that the term Macedonia touches a sensitive nerve in the history of the Greek state and nation because Greeks think that Alexander the Great and the Macedonian empire of the fourth century BC was the most glorious period in Greece's history. This history led to an international dispute full of passionate nationalistic rhetoric that prevented the Republic of Macedonia from joining the United Nations. In June 2011, the Macedonian people spent 5.3 million Euros to erect a bronze statue of Alexander the Great on a horse in the central square of the capital Skoplje. Greece, which was mired in a sovereign debt crisis, forcefully objected, setting off another round of international controversy. Of course, in addition to this historical and cultural controversy, there are many instances of current affairs setting off patriotic or nationalistic incidents in countries around the world, including China.

Since the adoption of the reform and opening up policy, as China economic and social development progressed and its international standing rose, Chinese people's self-respect and the self-respect of the Chinese nation constantly rose. This included the modern revival that washed away the historical humiliation. This included the return of Hong Kong and Macao to the motherland; the anti-Japanese resistance activities of which the Nanjing Massacre was representative, and which include the Japanese invasion, boycott of Japanese goods, protests over Japanese educational materials, Diaoyu Islands, and even football matches; the incidents surrounding the carrying of the Olympic torch in Western countries and the protests against CNN; the Carrefour online mobilization; and controversies with neighboring countries about the return of historical and cultural materials and inscriptions. These are all the result of the response of national consciousness and civil society in the context of China's ever-broadening and deepening international interactions. When China entered the twentieth century, although there were disputes on how to define the Chinese nation in intellectual, cultural and political terms, in civil society "in the course of clarifying the basic role of consumerism in nationalism, nationalism also played a role in defining consumerism." This was the national product movement that engulfed all sectors of Chinese society and extended all the way to China's villages. "The movement was a driving force behind the spread of nationalist sentiment throughout China as a whole."[28] This phenomenon was one of the first manifestations of national self-respect. Other such examples were the popular response to the publication of "China Can Say No" and the intermingling of patriotism, nationalism and anti-Qing sentiment at that time. However, foreign public opinion viewed this

[27] Vico (1987), p. 83.

[28] Gerth (2003).

as "Chinese nationalism" and many foreigners even thought that the Chinese government was inflaming nationalism.

The CPC has always advocated patriotism, loving the motherland, upholding the leadership of the CPC and adhering to the socialist system, and safeguarding the country's unity and national solidarity and abiding by the law are part of what patriotism means. China advocates a harmonious world and will never pursue the path of hegemony, and this standpoint is outside the realm of nationalism. However, in this age of capitalist nation states China is in the process of building a nation state, and it needs to achieve a multi-nationality united state nation identity and a Chinese national identity. It cannot avoid, or more precisely would have great difficulty circumventing the influence of the view, "It is nationalism which engenders nations."[29] And these influences include "It is not primordial and self-generating, but the result of a changing environment, first and foremost of course China's response to its international environment." Moreover, "Western scholars arrive at the opposite conclusion on the basis of the West's development experience, namely that the rise of nationalism signifies that because China's economic strength is growing it is beginning to wave its fist to test its strength."[30] This kind of misunderstanding is but one example of a kind of declaration that Chinese nationalism is a standard bearer, such that, China "wants to be a heroic nation and a world leader" and "heroic nation: every Chinese should have this ideal as their standard."[31] However, this kind of false pride that arouses impetuous behavior not only cannot represent the will of the Chinese nation but also is of no help in forging a national identity.

From the global perspective, in the vast majority of the countries in the world its citizens are not homogeneous but belong to different races or nationalities or have different religions, languages or cultures, therefore national identity, regional identity and group identity all exist simultaneously on different levels. And the national identity that underlies a nation state, "The successful diffusing of a common national identity is, in many countries, a contingent and vulnerable accomplishment – an ongoing process, not an achieved fact."[32] In addition, in both developed and developing countries, this kind of state nation identity possesses an inherent power to dispel tensions. In its extreme manifestation, "The current death dance between identities, nations, and states, leaves, on the one hand, historically emptied nation-states, drifting on the high seas of global flows of power; on the other hand, fundamental identities, retrenched in their communities or mobilized toward the uncompromising capture of an embattled nation-state."[33] The former alternative leads to an "international environment" in which American and Western hegemonism encompasses the whole globe and can whenever it likes launch a military attack on a sovereign country and overthrow its government; and the latter is a threat that most multi-nationality nation states, including Western

[29] Gellner (1983), p. 54.

[30] Zheng Yongnian (2010), pp. 28, 29.

[31] For example, Wang Xiaodong (2009); Song Xiaojun, Wang Xiaodong and Huang Jisu (2009).

[32] Kymlicka (2001), p. 229.

[33] Castells (2011), p. 340.

developed countries, face to varying degrees in building a nation state identity. China also faces a similar problem.

For China, in solving nationality problems in the realm of internal affairs, the purpose of opposing the two kinds of nationality is to eliminate the isolation, distrust, discrimination and humiliation arising from historical and national oppression (including imperialist alienation), and then getting all nationalities to develop mutual respect and understanding conceptually and emotionally and to live together in harmony and to unite and help each other. In the present course of development, all nationalities cherishing and preserving their traditional cultures and increasing their self-respect cannot simply be considered nationalism; rather, it is beneficial to increasing self-confidence and self-respect and their capability for self-development. In the course of future development, this tendency will manifest itself more prominently in all China's nationalities, including the Han nationality. It is necessary to realize its importance and guide it. For this reason, China urgently needs to strengthen the state's capability to build the sense of Chinese national identity.

For a multi-nationality country, the sense of identification with one's own nationality and the sense of identification with one's country and state nation function on two different levels at the same time. Mixed in with these are a sense of regional identity and a sense of clan or religious identity, and in China a sense of identification with traditional culture, including reverence for one's ancestors. On a finer level, it extends down to a sense of identity based on one's specific role in society. This kind of conscious or unconscious identity is intertwined with a person's psychological makeup, feelings, values, symbols, experiences, social role and behavior; in changes in the pattern of social interests and the interaction between traditional and modern culture; the sense of inferiority or self-respect arising from increasing contacts between nationalities and with people from foreign countries. All these make the sense of identity more complex and nuanced. In addition, a sense of identity rooted in one's region or in popular culture is becoming more prominent. In research on the division of powers in China's reforms, one viewpoint is, "This gives officials and ordinary people a powerful sense of local identity, and their sense of national identity is correspondingly weakened."[34] There are some grounds for this viewpoint, but it is not correct. The main way in which regional differences in China's economic and social development affect the relations between localities and the central authorities and the so-called issue of national and local identity concern differences in the capability of self-development. Developed regions and the central region can manage their own development, whereas the western region needs to rely on the state. This gives rise to significant differences in the sense of local identity, particularly in the extent to which markets are international and prosperous (especially in the areas of fashion and style).

Mainstream Western economic globalization and the mass popular economic and cultural life it propagates, including the system of values it promulgates, on the one hand fosters social movement and change that alter the younger generation's values and behavior, and on the other hand prompts people to turn back to traditional

[34] Zheng Yongnian (2010), p. 197.

culture and its values and behavior. The identity difference between "Who am I?" and "Who are you?" is spreading in popular cultural understanding. Young people wearing clothing from the Han Dynasty in public declare their sense of tradition, and men in traditional costumes recreate the role of tutors in dynastic-era schools and teach children to recite the Three-Word Classic and similar texts. At the same time regionalization and the scramble for cultural and historical resources within the tourist industry result in a game of one-upmanship in which huge quantities of money spent restoring imperial tombs, old-towns and symbolic construction, and large scale memorial services for famous historical figures, all of which are designed to produce a spectacular effect that puts the locality in a good light, but which also affects the building of a state nation. This tendency toward a local identity rooted in popular culture includes a number of websites that are heavily flavored with a variety of nationalisms including Han chauvinism, racial nationalism and minority nationalism, and these websites reevaluate the "symphony" of history and recount glorious and tragic moments in history. This content, which lacks scientific support and is highly sentimentalized, not only influences the thinking on nationalities of young people (who constitute the majority of Internet users), but also undermine the unity of nationalities and the sense of identity of the Chinese nation, to the extent that some people even question the existence of the Chinese nation. As a result fabricated conceptions of a state nation circulate, for example, a nation "is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign."[35] No matter whether this viewpoint involves academic debate about the historical genesis story of a particular nation state or the analysis of its present structure, as far as the overall requirements for a multi-nationality country to become a state nation and use the power of the state to create a state nation, this is a necessary condition for a nation to take its place in the world family of nations. For China, the Chinese nation is not simply a modern "imagined political community," but rather is a community formed out of the interaction and mingling of the peoples of the five directions over several millennia like a thick deposit of sediment. However, union in the past cannot replace structure in the present, and the power of the state must create the conditions for and common characteristics of a multi-nationality unity.

The Chinese nation is the common name for all of China's nationalities and it is China's state nation. In terms of the conception of a nation state, China is a united multi-nationality country. Multi-nationality does not mean a number of nations that have the status of a state nation, but rather a number of nationalities that are all part of a unified state nation – the Chinese nation.[36] It is said, "A man must have a

[35] Anderson (1991), p. 6.

[36] The English term has different meanings – the status of being a citizen of a country, a nation in the sense of a people, and a national quality or character. A nationality is inherently a product of a nation state. Therefore, when the Chinese term minzu is used in the sense of the historical origins of a people (ethnos), in a modern united multi-nationality country it is necessary to use the term nationality to express that a group shares the same citizenship and national character. This usage is in accord with both China's national conditions and standard English usage.

nationality."[37] In the conceptual framework of state nations, a person's nationality is the primary indicator of his or her status. For the Chinese mainland, the great family of the Chinese nation had 56 members, and although all Chinese citizens have their nationality imprinted on their national identity card, they all have the same identity in terms of citizenship – Chinese citizenship, and they are all issued the same kind of passport. They are all Chinese who together comprise the Chinese nation. This is a necessary condition for members of all China's nationalities to have the equal political position as masters of the country, and official recognition that all China's nationalities have equal position and rights. Of course, the Chinese nation also includes Chinese in Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan, and agreement that the people on both sides of the straits are members of the Chinese nation is an important consensus foundation for developing peaceful relations.[38] Only the Chinese nation can stand in the great family of nations with the nations of the rest of the world; China's nationalities do not have a place of their own there. This is the only symbol of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

The purpose of theoretical awareness is to guide practical action. How should state power be used to build the identity of the Chinese nation? Equality in political, economic, cultural and social life is the basis for achieving this identity. In the circumstance in which there are great disparities in economic and social development between regions, between urban and rural areas, between classes and between nationalities, it is impossible to achieve a patriotic sense of national identity, and it is inevitable that there will be differences. When there is equality there are no differences, and when everything is shared, there is no estrangement. Lenin stated, "The proletariat cannot support any consecration of nationalism; on the contrary, it supports everything that helps to obliterate national distinctions and remove national barriers; it supports everything that makes the ties between nationalities closer and closer, or tends to merge nations."[39] The CPC's system of nationality policies is based on the principle that all nationalities are equal, and the idea that through unity and hard work they can all enjoy prosperity and development. This policy is intended to spur all China's nationalities to have ever-closer relations and finally merge into one great nation naturally. This process is

[37] Gellner (1983), p. 6.

[38] As for whether overseas Chinese are members of the Chinese nation, from the perspective of the conception of a nation state and a legal standpoint, ethnic Chinese who have citizenship in another country are members of that country's state nation. For example ethnic Chinese who hold a United States passport are American citizens and are not Chinese in this sense. At the same time, because they have a historical and cultural identity as Chinese, they have the identity of Chinese-Americans, and in China they are called Chinese with American citizenship. Some countries in the world recognize dual citizenship, and in that an individual can have the status of being a member of two state nations. Of course, this terminology pertains to state nations and to international law and citizenship law. The practical issue of the sense of identity that overseas Chinese with citizenship in another country have for the Chinese nation, the love they feel for the motherland and their ancestral home, and the kinship they feel for their Chinese compatriots are another matter, unrelated to issues of citizenship.

[39] Lenin (1971), p. 23.

one in which the identity of the Chinese nation is based on a foundation of integration, its harmonization is based on a foundation of identity, and its fusion is based on a foundation of harmony. This is a long process, and at present we are at the stage of strengthening and cultivating its integration. This is a process of cultivating, feelings, values and ways of behaving, and it requires the power of the state to create it in both the psychological and physical arenas.

On National Day 2009, 56 nationality unity pillars were erected at Tiananmen Square to represent China's nationalities and symbolize their equality and harmony. They were all 13.6 m high and weighed 26 t, and they were made of reinforced concrete and fiberglass. They were painted red to symbolize China, with their sides brightly painted with pictures of men and women dancing together to represent both the good fortune and distinctive character of every nationality. They were arranged in two rows, one on each side of Tiananmen Square. They towered over the square and lent it an inspiring festive air. However, this display created for a passion occasion was not the first successful example of the state's nation building. Although this display very prominently portrayed the equality and unity of our country's 56 nationalities, it did not give expression to the concept of the Chinese nation. Therefore, after National Day, when the nationality unity pillars were left in their place, this attracted widespread attention from all sectors of society. Some people felt the two rows were indicative of opposition, some felt the pillars negatively affected the overall environmental effect of the square, and some felt they clashed with the architecture of the surrounding buildings. In the end they were moved to the Olympic Forest Park.

The symbolic objects and ceremonies of a country are an important component of nation building. The Memorial to the People's Heroes on Tiananmen Square is an eternal symbol of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese nation. In accordance with the National Flag Law, beginning in 1991, national flag raising and lowering ceremonies have been carried out every day. This is the most important national ceremony of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese nation held on a daily basis. These ceremonies and the symbolism they represent can arouse a sense of respect and awe in all of China's citizens, young and old, male and female and imperceptibly affect their deepest feelings. Moreover, it naturally permeates to every corner of the country (even to village schools with only a few students and border sentry posts with only a few soldiers). What it produces is a sense of national identity. Of course, the national museum, celebrations and holidays, as well as history teaching materials, a common national language and standard public education all transmit the symbolism of Chinese national identity. Placing the statue of Confucius standing at the entrance of the National History Museum as a representation of Chinese culture is a case of flawed symbolism. In building Chinese national identity, China must make use of economic and social development, to refine and coalesce fresh nutrients from the ever-increasing interaction and merging of China's nationalities achieve a mutual identity in the course of the mutual respect, understanding, assistance and assimilation of all these nationalities and then raise this mutual identity to the level of the whole Chinese nation.

In fact, the process of integration and unification of the Chinese nation is a process of all China's nationalities blending harmoniously. In this process, they all manifest their unique characteristics and they simultaneously undergo dispersion in which they influence other nationalities and absorption in which they assimilate influences from other nationalities. As economic and social development proceeds and contacts between nationalities increase, in national autonomous areas, the impact the internal affairs of the dominant minority nationality there has a spillover effect on the area and its culture and customs increasingly affect the culture and customs of the area as a whole. This is a process of blending and sublimation in which a group of people who are blended into a nationality become blended into society, their region and finally their country. Our nationwide unified market has enabled minority nationalities' culture, food, clothing, medicine, native products, handicrafts and traditional knowledge to penetrate the whole of society. At the same time, in the course of modernization the psychological and material influence of modern society that was being unified and standardized through a state-driven process accompanied by the spread of markets and increased international contacts gave rise to internal changes within nationalities. This kind of spillover effect of internal affairs and the internal effects of general affairs was a process of the people of different nationalities respecting, absorbing from and identifying with each other. "A socialist period is a period in which all nationalities prosper and develop together in which common factors shared by all nationalities constantly increase, but each nationality will retain its distinctive features and there will be disparities between the level of economic and social development between nationalities for a long time to come."[40] Therefore respecting differences and embracing diversity is a concept that must be adopted and firmly adhered to in the practice of uniting in struggle and pursuing common prosperity and development.

Inclusive development is an important concept of global significance that Hu Jintao expounded in his keynote speech at the Boao Forum. Inclusive development is not limited to transforming the mode of economic growth and getting all the people to share in the benefits of development, but also includes facing and solving the ever-increasing number of difficult and complex social problems arising in the course of development, including problems concerning religion and nationalities. Inclusiveness has the sense of binding diverse elements into a unity while preserving and respecting their diversity. Diversity and differences are both foundations of complexity. Because nationality problems involve complex social factors, our nationality policy must adapt to this complexity and embody diversity and differences. As a nationality takes form it develops; as it develops it merges, and as it fuses it dies out. These stages overlap but cannot be skipped or speeded

[40] "Decision of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council on Further Strengthening Our Work Related to Nationalities and Accelerating the Economic and Social Development of Minority Nationalities and Minority Nationality Areas," the State Ethnic Affairs Commission and the CPC Central Committee's Party Literature Research Office (eds.), *Selected Documents on Our Work Related to Nationalities* (2003–2009), Central Party Literature Publishing House, Beijing, 2010, p. 92.

up. A nationality can consciously merge only on the foundation of being fully developed and can only die out on the foundation of consciously merging. Only when China's nationalities, including the Han nationality, are fully developed politically, economically and culturally will it be possible for the great revival of the Chinese nation to occur.

In this sense, Stalin's definition of a state nation, although it may have its deficiencies, it is more scientific and realistic than most other definitions, "A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture."[41] The Chinese nation measures up to this definition as follows:

Common language: China's universal spoken and written languages;
Common territory: the territory or the People's Republic of China (including Taiwan);
Common economic life: modern economic life in which socialist public ownership is dominant and other forms of ownership (including the economic systems of Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan) develop in tandem with it;
Common culture: the Chinese culture based on the foundation of the outstanding traditional culture of all China's nationalities;
Common psychological character: the identity based on the integrated Chinese nation.

Stalin stressed that none of these common characteristics could be lacking, and unquestionably, they are all necessary conditions for the establishment of a nation state. This has important practical significance for our understanding of the notion of all nationalities uniting in common struggle to achieve common prosperity and development. The key word here is "common". "Common" embodies the internal mechanism of the nation state in general and the integrated Chinese nation in particular, and it signifies equality, justice, sharing and identity. The identity of the Chinese nation is a new topic concerning the establishment of a nation state in modern China. The conception of the Chinese nation as a nation state not only needs to be written into the Constitution, but also needs to be made the basis for mechanisms of common rights, responsibilities and interests in the course of political, economic, cultural, social and ecological progress. Creating such mechanisms will decrease and eliminate the gap in the level of economic and social development between nationalities. The goal of China's nationality policy is to achieve rapid, even leapfrog, development in areas where minority nationalities are concentrated, and this also is where the wellbeing of the people of all nationalities living in nationality autonomous areas lies.

In his speech at a meeting celebrating the 90th anniversary of the founding of the CPC, Hu Jintao said, "In the first half of this century, the Party will unite with and lead the people in accomplishing two grand goals: First, to build a moderately prosperous society of a higher level to the benefit of over one billion people by the centennial of the founding of the CPC and, second, to make China a prosperous,

[41] Stalin (1953a), p. 307.

strong, democratic, culturally advanced and harmonious modern socialist country by the centennial of the founding of New China. We have great responsibilities on our shoulders." We are still 10 years away from achieving the first great goal, building a moderately prosperous society of a higher level to the benefit of over one billion people. In the next 10 years, it is extremely crucial for China to obtain and grasp strategic opportunities for development and for China to transform the mode of economic growth and enter a new phase of sound development on the foundation of continuing to effectively maintaining steady development. These 10 years are also a crucial period for making sound progress in solving our nationality problems.

How the CPC solves its nationality questions is a dynamic proposition that encompasses the past, present and future, and it is an answer, a process and a question.

Early morning on July 10, 2011

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